

COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

P. O. Box 4411

Huntsville, Alabama 35815

J. C. Spillman, Editor

Volume 35, No. 2

July, 1995

Serial No. 100

CNL - 100

CELEBRATING 35 YEARS OF
MODERN RESEARCH IN
EARLY AMERICAN NUMISMATICS

John Adams: 1693 Indian Peace Medal	Pages 1507 - 1510
David Gladfelter: Tale of Two Elephants	Pages 1511 - 1514
Mike Ringo: Georgivs Triumpho	Pages 1515 - 1520
Ray Williamson: Early Breen	Pages 1521 - 1530
Eric Newman: 1764 Broadside	Pages 1531 - 1533
Gray Trudgen: John Bridge's Tavern	Pages 1534 - 1540
Mike Hodder: Mike Hodder's Top Picks	Pages 1541 - 1547
Roger Moore: NJ 17-y with VT Undertype	Pages 1548 - 1551
Sandy Partridge: (a) 1781 Vermont Notes	Pages 1552 - 1560
(b) Illustrations (JCS)	Pages 1561 - 1569
Kenneth Bressett: An Altered Vermont Note	Pages 1570 - 1573
(c) Follow on to Partridge	
George Perkins: Connecticut Census	Pages 1574 - 1577
Herbert Silberman: The New Jersey Story	Pages 1578 - 1586
Internet; Reminiscences; Letters; & Items for Future Discussion	Pages 1587 - 1591

The 1693 Indian Peace Medal

by

John Adams; Boston, MA

For some perverse reason, most writers on the early Indian peace medals have been theorists as opposed to researchers. Only Frances Zay and Harold Gillingham paid strict attention to archival resources. Such well known numismatists as Robert McLachlan, Robert Morin, Alfred Sandham, C. Wylls Betts and Melville Jamison committed errors or perpetuated errors that could have been avoided by a more disciplined approach to the subject.

The 1693 medal featuring Louis XIV on the obverse and four members of his family on the reverse is a case in point, having been observed by all of the writers named above. Zay cites contemporary proof that these medals were indeed presented to Indians, using references that were borrowed (often without acknowledgment) by those that followed. Thus, it is a demonstrable fact that some of these 1693 medals were given to Indians, but were all of them so used? To which Indians were they given and why? Since Zay's study over 100 years ago,⁽¹⁾ nothing material has been added to our knowledge of the subject.

Because the 1693 medal is the first known to have been used on multiple occasions by the French, the many unanswered questions surrounding its origins take on particular historical significance. The topic was brought to center stage by Sotheby's sale of July 1994 which contained an unprecedented offering: an example of this design in gold (2). Sotheby's specimen was the first peace medal in gold ever to be auctioned; indeed, it was the first Indian medal in gold from "regular issue" dies to be discovered. So impressed was the cataloguer that he concluded: "...such a large and important medal in gold cannot have been intended for presentation to an Indian..." As noted above, arm chair theorizing pervades the literature, and normally goes unchallenged. Not so in the present case: this author's Indian blood fairly boiled at Sotheby's statement.

In 1636, the Dutch first traded guns to the Mohawk Indian in exchange for furs. Thus armed, the Mohawks and the four other Iroquois nations became the scourge of those around them. Tribes as far west as the Mississippi and as far south as Alabama were conquered or forced to pay tribute. Having befriended the Hurons, ancient enemies of the Iroquois, the French became an additional target. Regular raids on Montreal came close to extinguishing the colony but, by 1690, under the leadership of Count de Frontenac, a crusty septuagenarian, the Canadiens had achieved some measure of equilibrium. Extensive peace negotiations were conducted with the Iroquois in 1691 and 1692, with diplomacy proceeding to the point where ordering medals in anticipation of a formal ceremony in 1693 seemed a logical supposition. Such had long been this author's theory as to the origin of the 1693 medal but, as noted above, theories must be regarded with great caution.

In 1907, Henri Nocq published an article listing medals given as presents by Louis XIV and Louis XV (3). In this long overlooked source, first cited in recent times by Alan Stahl,⁽⁴⁾ there is an entry for the year 1693: "Le 21 mars, à deux des principaux sauvages de Benaques, deux médailles d'or." Thus, we can be certain that two gold medals were given to two Abenaki Indians—thereby exploding Sotheby's theory that gold was too valuable to be given to Indians—but Nocq does not name the recipients or describe a reason for the awards.

First Die Struck Indian Peace Medal



**Awarded
to an
American
Indian Chief**

**The
1693
Indian Peace Medal
of
Louis XIV
of France
in
Gold**



In 1693, various Abenaki tribes occupied most of what is today Northern New England and the Canadian Maritimes. The Abenakis were aligned politically with the French, with whom they traded and from whose Jesuit priests they received religious education. Relations with the English colonies were far less cordial; indeed war between the Bostonians and the Abenakis broke out at regular intervals.

Two of the Abenaki tribes most active in the wars against the English were the Kennebecs and the Penobscots. In "Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV", Frances Parkman describes the activities of these Indians in some detail. Even more specifically, in describing the events of 1693, he states: "two of their chiefs had been sent to Versailles. They now returned, in gay attire, their necks hung with medals..." (5) The trip to Versailles is confirmed by a second source. In an entry under the date September 26, 1693, the provincial governor Joseph de Villebon writes: "Madokawana's son {Madokawando—the English spelling—was chief of the Penobscot Abenakist} arrived from Quebec on his way back from France." (6)

From these two sources, we know that two Abenaki's returned from France in 1693 but we don't know why or when they went. Fortunately, back in 1884, the Legislature of Quebec made a concerted effort to copy all of the surviving French records having to do with the administration of Canada. It is in this compendium(7) that one finds the details of two young Indians traveling from the wilds of Maine to the Court of Versailles. Their names are not recorded, other than that they were the sons of the principal chiefs of the Kennebec and Penobscot Abenaki's. However, the dates and logistics of their visit are well documented.

Most important, this source records both the reasons the trip was undertaken and the reason that it was so well received by the Court. Monsieur de Lagry's notes on the province of Acadia for the year 1692 chronicle the hostilities with the Bostonians, the brunt of which had been born by the Abenakis, such that "les deux principaux chefs on envoye chacun un de leurs enfans pour venir voir le Roi et retourner avec les secours." (8)

However, if it was the idea of the Indians to send their children to France to seek help, it was very much the idea of Louis XIV to grant that help with gusto. In the year 1690, the French had been sore pressed by a joint attack by the Iroquois and the New Yorkers in the West and by the New Englanders down the St. Lawrence River in the East. His Majesty saw clearly that, if the Abenakis took the warpath in the East, the New Englanders would be pinned down, leaving only the Western front to be defended by the French. Accordingly, he decreed a significant increase in the supplies to be provided to the Kennebecs and the Penobscots.(9) Whereas these supplies provided the economic and military wherewithal to make war, it was the presentation of gifts to the two princes, culminating in the award of large gold medals, that sealed the alliance.

The Abenakis and the Boston Puritans contended for much of the half century beginning with King Philip's War in 1675 and ending with the massacre at Norridgewock in 1724. There were many issues that separated the two sides, such that there might well have been active hostilities in 1693 without the instigation of Louis XIV. However, it is a fact that the French government promoted those hostilities. The 1693 gold medal depicting Louis XIV is a majestic symbol that survives to bear witness to the story. Thanks in large part to their Indian allies, the French survived the difficult years that ended the 17th century. Indeed, by judicious Indian policies, the French maintained their hold on Canada until 1760, when the sheer weight of superior numbers of English colonists overcame them.

The French gave their medals, the Indians gave their loyalty and this simple exchange authored important chapters in the history of North America.

ENDNOTES:

- (1) Ernest Zay, *Histoire Monetaire Des Colonies Francaises*, Paris, 1892.
- (2) Lot 76, Sotheby's, London, 7/5/1994.
- (3) Henri Nocq, "Medailles offertes en presents par Louis XIV and Louis XV, de 1662 à 1721," *Gazette Numismatique Francaise* II (1907), p 163.
- (4) Alan M. Stahl, *American Indian Peace Medals of the Colonial Period*, COACS, American Numismatic Society, 1991.
- (5) "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV," Francis Parkman, Boston 1898 p.379.
- (6) *Journal of Events in Acadia*, ed. J.C. Webster, Saint John, N.B., 1934, p.53.
- (7) *Collection de Manuscrits a la Nouvelle France*, Vol. II, and III, Quebec, 1884.
- (8) *Ibid*, Volume II, p. 99.
- (9) *Ibid*, pp. 106-130.

The Large Size 1693 Family Medals

- (1) Gold. 75.5 mm in diameter, 228.4 grams. Loop. Ex lot 76 Sotheby's 7/5/1994. Previously for 200 years in an old Canadian family.
- (2) Silver. 75.7 mm in diameter, 190.4 grams. No loop. Ex Duke of Northumberland lot 303, 12/3/1980. Ex lot 500, Sothebys April 1992. Presumably purchased by the Duke from the French Mint in the middle of the 18th century.
- (3) Silver. 75.4 mm in diameter. 199.97 grams. Loop, now loose. Given to the A.N.S. in 1908 by Daniel Parish.
- (4) All of the above are struck from the same pair of dies. Silver restrikes are known (see Chris Schenkel Collection Sale, Nov. 12-14, 1990, Bowers and Merena, Lot 4002) as are restrikes and "originals" in Bronze.
- (5) The 41 mm size of this design is the most common; the smaller sizes are extremely rare.
- (6) An attempt at a complete condition census for all sizes is in preparation.

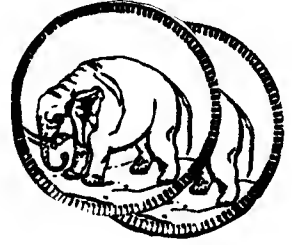
JWA

A TALE OF TWO ELEPHANTS

(TN-162A)

by David D. Gladfelter; Moorestown, N. J.

Photos by Strawbridge Lake Photo Group,
Phillip DeVicci, Proprietor



All you can see of what had been the "first elephant" on the Higgy-Picker specimen (1) of the Carolina Elephant token is the tail, curling behind the second and third lines of the reverse inscription; a hint of the ground contours on which the beast stood shows in the field under the date. A faded final letter D in the third inscription line evidences the failure of the descending die fully to contact the recessed planchet surface behind the elephant's left rear leg. Nothing else remains to tell the viewer he/she is looking at a "flip-over double strike" — a piece having been struck once, turned over in the press, and struck again by the same dies.

Just as these few tantalizing clues are all we have to document the minting process that produced this error piece, so are we lacking in historical record to document the origins and purpose of the entire Elephant Token series. In a sense, the Higgy-Picker piece symbolizes the mystery still surrounding these 300-year-old tokens. What were they, and how did they come into being? Who made them, who used them, who kept them?

Frank Steimle (2) has opened up this subject to brainstorming. In this article, I offer some further insights, although regrettably no new factual evidence, on where and when this group of tokens were likely produced.

No documentation of the Elephants' manufacture is known to have survived, and no record of their existence appears until the year 1713.(3) In that year, a published reference first reports the existence of the most common of the seven major Elephant varieties, that with the :LONDON:GOD:PRESERVE: reverse legend, plain cross in shield (rated R-4 by Hodder).(4) The next most common variety, that with GOD:/PRESERVE:/CAROLINA: ... reverse legend and the O/E spelling correction, was first documented around 1720;(5) Hodder rates this variety a low R-6.(6) As a practical matter, these two varieties are the only ones readily collectible and thus available to one who wishes to study them "in the copper." These are the two varieties in my Collection, which are illustrated herein, enlarged 2x, on page 1513.

There are five more Elephant Token varieties, but all are extremely rare (R-7 and R-8 per Hodder). These rarities were not documented until a much later time. The rarest of these, the GOD:/PRESERVE:/NEW:/ENGLAND:/1694: variety, appears to have first been reported about 1855.(7) All seven varieties were together, perhaps for the only time since their manufacture, in the Norweb Collection. Excellent photographs (including three in color) and descriptions are provided in the catalog.

It is fascinating to note that one of the two obverse Elephant Token dies survived as late as 1769. In that year, the prolific writer on (and dealer in) coins and medals, Thomas Snelling, recorded the fact that this die "is still remaining in the Tower, and appears to be the work of Rotiers" (sic)(8) There is no reason to doubt the truth of the first part of Snelling's statement; although the Elephant die was no longer in the Royal Mint archive when it was inventoried in 1910, neither were any other token dies from the period prior to 1800.(9) Mint officers would have had no obligation to preserve dies used for an unofficial token production run. The present whereabouts of the Elephant die, if still in existence, is unknown.

Snelling's report suggests that the Elephant Tokens may be products of the Tower Mint. John Roettiers, thought by Snelling to have engraved the obverse die, was chief engraver of the Royal Mint from 1670 to 1697. The two Carolina varieties and the New England variety are dated 1694, which falls within the period of Roettiers's service. The elephant die is unsigned. Can Snelling's ascription to the Tower Mint, and more specifically to John Roettiers, be confirmed?



Mr. Thomas S. Snelling

*Author of the View of the
Coin & Coinage of ENGLAND, &c, &c, &c.*

Jn. Thane del. et sculp. 1770.

The only source of evidence available to answer this question is that of the tokens themselves. Apart from the early records described above (which are not strictly contemporaneous with the tokens), we must study these tokens for what information may be derived from them. It appears that the tokens themselves constitute at present our best evidence of their origin.

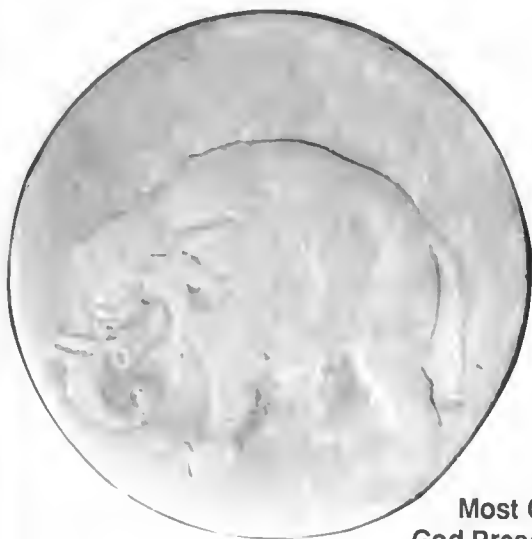
Roettiers was a medalist of considerable artistic skill, one of the best ever employed by the Royal Mint in the opinion of Warwick Wroth.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, he became less active after the death of Charles II in 1685. During his tenure as chief engraver, he was assisted by his brothers Joseph and Philip, and later by his sons James and Norbert. Therefore, Forrer concludes, it is "impossible to know which dies John Roettiers cut himself." ⁽¹¹⁾ The elephant on both obverse dies is a striking portrayal, well-proportioned, three-dimensional and in an animated pose, fitting nicely into the available circular design space. In contrast, the reverse designs appear more

crude in style and execution; the lettering, especially on the Carolina and New England varieties, tilts a bit. The foregoing observations do not convince me that the Elephant Tokens can be ascribed with confidence to the personal oeuvre of John Roettiers.

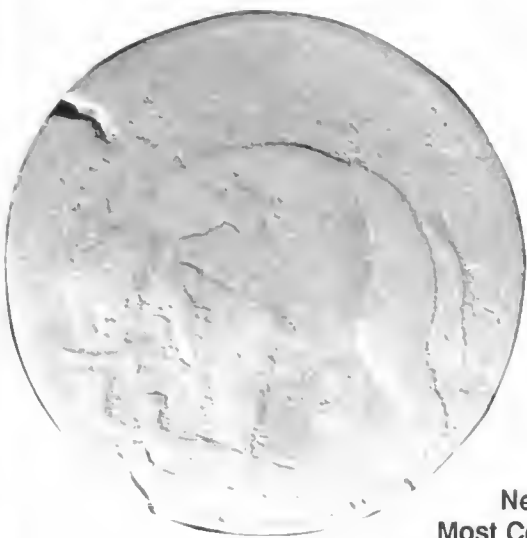
Nevertheless, the argument for a Tower Mint origin is persuasive. The style of the letters CAROL in CAROLINA on the Elephant reverses may be compared with the same letters in CAROLUS and CAROLO on known Tower Mint issues illustrated in Peck,⁽¹²⁾ plates 6, 7 and 8; the style of the numerals 1694 may be compared with the same numerals on pieces illustrated on plates 9 and 10. Interestingly, only one of these pieces (Peck 636) shows the double-stop convention used to separate the words of the reverse legends of all of the Elephant Token varieties except Hodder 2-D. Despite this difference, I accord greater weight to the similarities which in my view are adequate to support an ascription of the Elephant Tokens to the Tower Mint.

It appears to me more reasonable than not, to assume, as does Steimle, that all varieties of Elephant Tokens (including the undated London varieties) would have been manufactured at or near the same time. I would have no reason to doubt that the date 1694 appearing on the dated varieties is the actual date of production. No attempt to my knowledge has yet been made to develop a plausible emission sequence, using standard techniques, for the seven varieties of Elephants. Yet many authorities assume that the four London varieties were produced decades prior to the three dated varieties. How valid is the view that the London pieces predate the others, by any time interval?

All Illustrations 2x Enlargement



Most Common
God Preserve London



Next
Most Common
God Preserve Carolina



This "London priority" assumption derives from the hypothesis that the enigmatic phrase "God Preserve ..." alludes to the disastrous London fire and plague, and that therefore the London pieces would have issued close to the time of those events. The further argument can be made, of course, that if one obverse Elephant Token die survived until 1769, it could have survived for some years prior to 1694 as well. These seem weak arguments. Since the "God Preserve" phrase appears on the Carolina and New England token varieties as well as on the London ones, accepting the "London priority" assumption requires, for consistency, the occurrence of 1694 disasters of comparable proportions, worthy of memorialization by issuance of tokens, in Carolina and New England.

If one accepts a Royal Mint production source for the Elephant Tokens, it follows that the earliest date of possible manufacture of the undated London varieties would have been 1672, the year the Mint began issuing farthings and halfpence in copper to meet the needs of commerce for small change in base metals.(13) Evelyn, who in his 1697 treatise reported the St. Patrick farthing piece (also one of our American colonials) which saw limited circulation in the late 1670s (14), does not mention the London Elephant tokens, which today are of comparable rarity; his list stops with the year 1688. One can infer that if the London Elephant tokens in fact existed as early as 1672, they would have come to Evelyn's notice and received mention by him.

Breen notes substantial variations in the planchet weights of the Elephant Token varieties, and in fact assigns separate variety numbers to the thin, medium and thick flan specimens.(15) Hodder also mentions that some of the pieces are struck on cast rather than rolled planchets. These facts are consistent with Tower Mint operations during the 1690s.(16)

ENDNOTES:

- (1) Numismatic Gallery, Catalogue of the Michael F. Higgy collection (New York, 1943), lot 1279 (plated); Stack's, Public Auction Sale, May 1, 2, 3, 1991 (New York), lot 90 (plated).
- (2) Frank Steimle, "A Tricentennial Review and Comments on the 'God Preserve ...' Elephant Tokens," 35 *The Colonial Newsletter* 1481 (April 1995).
- (3) Ralph Thoresby, *Museum Thoresbyanum* (London, 1713), p. 379. Cited by Eric P. Newman, "An Elephant Token Never Forgets — Forgery," 78 *Numismatist* 163, 164 (Feb. 1965).
- (4) [Michael J. Hodder], "The London, Carolina, and New England Elephant Tokens," In catalog of the Norweb Collection, Part I, Auctions by Bowers and Merena, Inc. (Wolfeboro, Bowers and Merena Galleries, 1987), pp. 357-362.
- (5) An engraved illustration of a holed specimen appears on plate 14 of the 308 plates illustrating the collection of Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, engraved by Niccolo Francisco Haym. Newman, *op. cit.*, fn. 3; Eric P. Newman, *The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling* (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1959) pp. 3-4.
- (6) Hodder, *op. cit.* fn. 4.
- (7) Jacob Henry Burn, *London Tradesmen's Tokens* (London, 1855). Cited In John H. Hickcox, *An Historical Account of American Coinage* (Albany, John Munsell, 1858), p. 12.
- (8) Thomas Snelling, *Miscellaneous Views of the Coins Struck by English Princes in France. ... Those in the West India Colonies ... With Copper-Plates* (London, self-published, 1769), p.39.
- (9) William John Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins. Tokens. Medals. Dies and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint. Vol. II — Dies. Medals and Seals* (London, Darling & Son, 1910). A total of 3,219 dies are inventoried.
- (10) Cited in L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*. vol. 5 (London, Spink & Son Ltd., 1912), pp. 161-173.
- (11) *Idem* .
- (12) C. Wilson Peck, *English Copper. Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum. 1558-1958* (London, British Museum, 1960).
- (13) C. E. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, University Press, 1992), p. 365.
- (14) J[ohn] Evelyn, *Numismata. A Discourse on Medals. Antient and Modern Together with Some Account of Heads and Effigies of Illustrious. and Famous Persons ...* (London, Benj. Tooke, 1697), p. 133.
- (15) Breen, *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U. S. and Colonial Coins* (New York, Doubleday, 1988), pp. 32-33.
- (16) Challis, *op. cit.*, fn 13, pp 373-377.

THE GEORGIVS TRIUMPHO TOKEN

by
Mike Ringo; Albany, NY

The Georgivs Triumpho token has long been a numismatic enigma; few facts have been uncovered over the years concerning its origin or intent. The pro-American sentiments of the piece can hardly be disputed, even though the obverse device copies the figure of King George III from the Irish halfpence of the period (possibly a strategy to facilitate acceptance of the piece in circulation¹; see figures 1 and 4). The reverse devices of the piece form an allegorical reference to the confinement of British expansionism by the U.S., with the help of France: the gate of thirteen bars with corner fleurs-de-lis has shut in Britannia, which is itself a representation of British colonialism. The legend *Voce Popoli* ("by the voice of the people") refers to this central allegory, and the date of 1783 can be taken to commemorate the signing of the peace treaty that officially ended the Revolutionary War.

The Georgivs Triumpho has been assumed to have been produced circa its date of 1783; it has been claimed to be found as an undertype on certain New Jersey varieties of the plaited mane type by Breen² and Taxay³. No specimens or records of this type could be located by the present writer to corroborate this. Punch linkage and stylistic similarities, however, show that the Georgivs Triumpho copper is in fact a contemporaneous issue, and was probably produced in the mid-1780's in England by a prolific counterfeiter of English and Irish halfpence. One missing link that has been overlooked by numismatists is a relatively common issue that shares letter and numeral punches with the Triumpho, namely the 1783 Nova Constellatio, Crosby variety 1-A. The accompanying photos (figures 7 and 8) illustrate some of the shared punches between the two issues: the O, S, T, E, L, V, R, most likely the C/G, and the 1783 date elements. The 1-A Nova is found as an undertype to the plaited mane New Jersey type; see lot #1478 in the Garrett collection sale, part III (Bowers and Ruddy, October 1980), a 1787 Maris 72-z. If the photo in that catalog is examined carefully, the distinctive row of denticles through the final "O" in Constellatio can be made out on the obverse at 5:00, verifying that the undertype is a 1-A Nova. One variety of 1775 counterfeit halfpenny (figure 3) shows the same type of damage in the die.

The link between the Georgivs Triumpho and a series of counterfeit English and Irish halfpence is not quite so obvious, and not as definitively proven, but the number of similarities is large enough to be able to rule out mere coincidence. Figure 9a is an enlargement of the torso of the Britannia figure on the reverse of the Georgivs Triumpho, while figure 9b is an enlargement of the same area of a 1775-dated counterfeit English halfpenny. The treatment of the branch is almost identical in both cases; the positioning of the leaves is nearly the same, and the two "floating" leaves are in the same relative positions on either side of the stem. In addition, the left and right arms respectively appear to have been made from the same device punches in each case, and the head punches are very similar. Also, the treatment of the drapery in each case is very much alike. Figure 8c illustrates the date punches of another counterfeit 1775 variety that is part of the series; note that the numeral 7 is identical to those of the Nova and Triumpho. Figure 7 shows the similarities between the letter punches of a counterfeit 1775 variety and the Triumpho and Nova punches: FilmPrint studies show the "V" punches to be identical, while the others that are common appear to be very close, though apparently of a slightly larger size in the case of the counterfeit halfpence. This size difference could be explained by the depth that the punches were

¹ Endnotes are on page 1516

sunk into the dies, or by the assumption that punches of the same style were produced by the same factory. Altogether, dozens of different varieties of this type of English and Irish counterfeit halfpence can be tied together, including a mule of an English obverse and an Irish reverse, illustrated in figure 5.

Assigning a specific point of origin to the Georgivs Triumpho, the 1783 1-A Nova Constellatio, and the series of counterfeit halfpence associated with them is a difficult task. It is fairly certain that all were produced in England, as the quantity of the issues would seem to indicate a non-American source, and no contemporary newspaper accounts are known that would indicate that the Triumpho emanated from this country. There are, however, differing accounts of the places of origin of the Nova Constellatio series in both U.S. and British newspapers of the period, as Eric P. Newman demonstrated in his article "The Source of the Nova Constellatio Copper Coinage" in the January 1960 issue of the *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*. The *London Morning Chronicle* of March 16, 1786 noted that "A correspondent observes, that the... piece spoken of, bearing the inscription, 'Libertas et Justitia, &c.' was not made in America, nor by the direction of Congress. It was coined in Birmingham, by the order of the merchant in New-York, many tons were struck from this die, and many from another; they are now in circulation in America, as counterfeit half pence are in England." Later in 1786, two U.S. newspapers printed the following announcement: "It is said that 40 tons of copper have been coined in halfpence, at Greenwich, in England, for American circulation. Device on one side, an Eye, Providence and thirteen stars- The reverse, U.S.-Better these than bane to honesty, paper money."⁴ Irrespective of the place of origin of the "official" Nova Constellatio coppers, it seems likely that at least one of the unauthorized issues, the 1783 variety 1-A, was produced in Birmingham or Greenwich, along with the Georgivs Triumpho and counterfeit halfpence; the reference to 40 tons would be much too large a quantity if it included only the 1-A Nova, but perhaps might have been a reasonable estimation if it also referred to the Georgivs Triumpho and an extensive series of counterfeit halfpence, some of which would surely have been intended for shipment to America. Possibly, the other die referred to in the *London Morning Chronicle* article was the 1786 counterfeit Nova.

Counterfeit halfpence produced in the U.S., Canada, and Great Britain can provide clues to the origins of other series; many minters of authorized issues apparently could not resist the temptation to produce their own version of the most common coin in circulation at the time, the British halfpence. Future research into counterfeit British and Irish halfpence will most likely provide more insights into other unexplained areas of colonial numismatics.

ENDNOTES:

¹ Taxay, Don, "Catalogue and Encyclopedia of U.S. Coins", 1976.

² Breen, Walter, "Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins", 1988.

³ Taxay, *ibid*.

⁴ The two papers were the *Massachusetts Sentinel* (Boston, Mass.), May 10, 1786, and the *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Conn.), May 15, 1786.

Previously, a similar article ran in the *New Haven Gazette* of May 4, 1786.



FIG. 1 : GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO, EARLY DIE STATE



FIG. 2 : 1783 NOVA CONSTELLATIO, CROSBY 1-A



FIG. 3 : 1775 COUNTERFEIT BRITISH HALFPENNY



FIG.4: 1776 COUNTERFEIT IRISH HALFPENNY



FIG.5: 1776 BRITISH OBV. MULED WITH IRISH REV.



FIG.6: 1775 COUNTERFEIT BRITISH HALFPENNY



FIG. 7a: DETAIL OF
1783 NOVA CONSTELLATIO 1-A

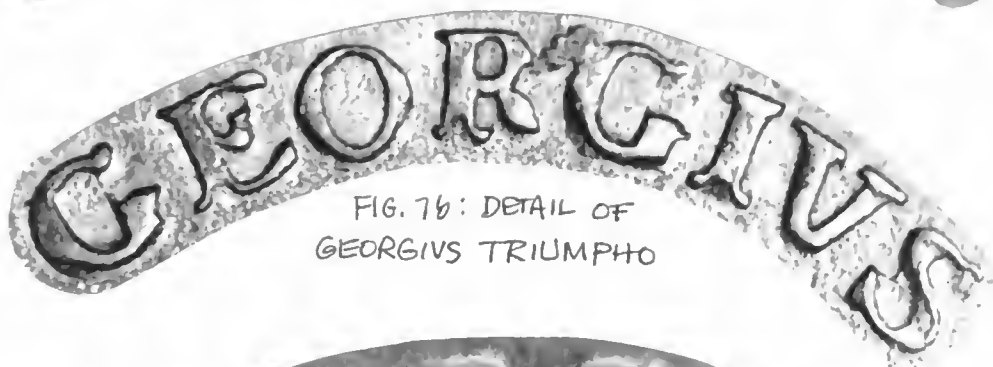


FIG. 7b: DETAIL OF
GEORGIVS TRIUMPHO

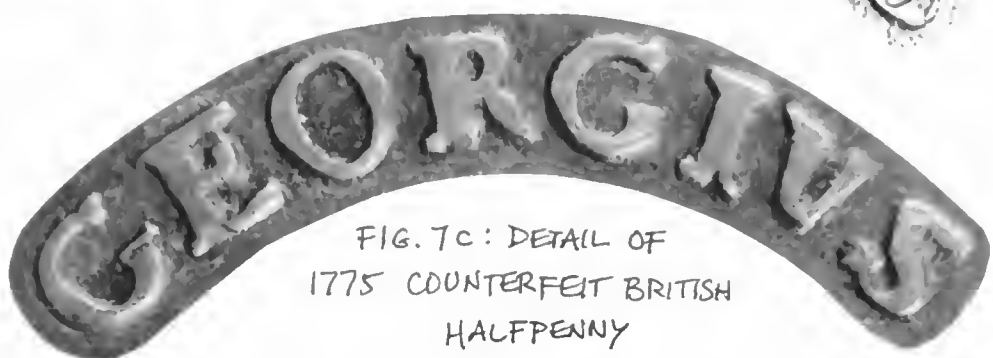


FIG. 7c: DETAIL OF
1775 COUNTERFEIT BRITISH
HALFPENNY



FIG. 8a: 1783 NOVA 1-A DATE



FIG. 8b: GEORGIVS TRIUMPHO DATE

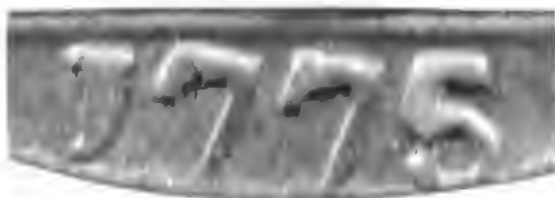


FIG. 8c: BRITISH COUNTERFEIT 1/2d. DATE



FIG. 9a: DETAIL OF GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO REVERSE



FIG. 9b: DETAIL OF 1775 COUNTERFEIT BRITISH 1/2d. REV.

EARLY BREEN

by

Raymond H. Williamson; Lynchburg, Virginia

This story consists almost exclusively of snippet quotations from my voluminous correspondence with Walter Henry Breen, which began in 1948. The magnitude of the selection effort can be partly grasped when we observe the size of my BREEN file: some 400 single-spaced pages, many with quarter-inch margins. Several of the letters contained four or more pages; one was 12 pages! Nearly all these pages were involved with the nitty-gritty of mint history and copper-cent varieties, here generally omitted because not Colonial. Also omitted are a dozen or so of Breen's most interesting "snippets" because they are very sharply critical of people we know. Such paragraphs should perhaps go to archival files, but should not be published before the year 2020, if then. The title "Early Breen" precludes my now covering more than the first few years of our correspondence.



"Early" Breen
Photo by James Thomas
Courtesy of *Coin World*

Gems from "Still Earlier" Breen, from his Autobiography

Walter Breen's comprehensive autobiography was published in the January 1978 issue of *Penny-Wise*, pp 23-27. A few statements from this publication, mainly pre-1948, are paraphrased next.

Walter was born in 1930, an abandoned foundling; he was brought up by his adoptive father, whose name he bore. He learned to read and write on his own before age three. His adoptive parents were divorced in 1936, and Walter's custody fell to his mother, who placed him in a Catholic orphanage in Wheeling, West Virginia. Here he was very unhappy, but completed grade school in 22 months. In 1941 his mother placed him in a Catholic monastery in Hyattsville, Maryland. He graduated from Central Catholic High School in Wheeling, West Virginia, shortly before his 14th birthday, despite being considered a nerd because he didn't enjoy sports, beer, cars or girl-chasing. In 1946, he ran away and joined the Air Force, where he was "out of the frying pan into the fire." He was beaten up and left for dead, circumstances unknown; he was taken to a hospital at Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, having lost memory of all earlier life. He relearned how to read and write, and read books from hospital and public libraries, including a bit about old coins. (His adoptive father had given him a few old coins, per A. George Mallis in "Conversationally Speaking: 'Chatting With Walter,'" *Coin World* 2-22-78, p 19.

Walter was admitted to St. Edward's College, Austin Texas, where he learned to play the organ, and became Assistant Choirmaster. He was happy there, but his health broke down, and eventually (Oct. 8, 1948) he was sent to Cushing Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital, Framingham, Massachusetts, where he stayed until September 1950.

Now we must transfer to *my* file for "Early Breen."

Beginning 1948

10-12-48. Stuart Mosher, Editor of *The Numismatist* and Curator of Numismatics at the Smithsonian Institution, to Ray Williamson, Syracuse NY; longhand note. "Dear Ray: Walter is getting away ahead of me and I can do nothing but refer his letter to you. Regards, Stuart."

Unfortunately, my Breen correspondence before 8-11-49 can't be located for this earliest period, in either my Breen or allied files. Neither can Stuart Mosher's concurrent *Numismatist* Editor's letters be found, even at ANA Headquarters, or The Smithsonian, or The American Numismatic Society (ANS). However, during this hiatus, prompted somewhat by Walter's pleas, I had started a column in *The Numismatist* called "The Cent Collectors' Forum," with anonymous inputs from a "Board" consisting of Homer K. Downing of New York City, Dr. Kenneth J. Sartoris of Albany NY, and the writer. Before my work at General Electric required that most of 1950 be spent in Italy, I managed to turn in copy for three columns: Aug & Sept 1949 and Feb 1950. (There was no more "Cent Collectors' Forum" column until Walter Breen picked it up, single-handed and signed, Jan 1957 thru March 1958).

Also, personal excerpts from 83 Breen letters to Richard Rosichan (Feb 1953 thru May 1962) are extensively and interestingly quoted in the available June 24 1995 auction catalog of *The Money Tree*; data from these quotations will not generally be duplicated here.

So we are now ready to proceed with earlier correspondence from, to, and about Walter, Aug. 1949 to May 1952.

Beginning 1949

8-11-49. Walter Breen (B), Ward 308S, Cushing VA Hospital, Framingham, MA, to Stuart Mosher; 4pp.: "The following are a few questions and comments for the CENT COLLECTOR'S FORUM, in accordance with the invitation extended in the August NUMISMATIST, p. 494."

(Typical questions):

"(2) What number according to Newcomb is the 1803 cent, Standard Catalog 1949 edition p. 34, illustrated over '1803 Small Fraction,' exhibiting diebreak extending from edge under 3 through end of bust and to edge at right?"

"(5) Does the Board have any information about an 1842 cent described as having rays around head, allegedly . . ."

(Breen's typical comments):

"(2) REVERSES OF 1798-99-1800 CENTS. Has it been observed before that all the reverses of 1799 and 1800 cents are made from a hub first used in 1798? . . ."

"(5) 'TRIAL PIECE DESIGNED FOR U.S. CENT 1792.' In the article 'Odds & Ends in the U.S. Series,' p.501, mention is made by Mr. Ford of pieces with abovementioned inscription, and their history. I believe I have a little additional information on the same subject, included here because of the old claim that they were cent patterns. . ."

"You have my permission to edit and delete or include whatever you will of these comments; I only hope that what information I have been able independently to amass will be of service.

Sincerely yours. Walter H. Breen."

8-31-49. Stuart Mosher to B, 1p: "Please accept my thanks for yours of August 11 and the comments on the 'Cent Collectors' Forum.' I'm passing these along to the 'Board' and I can assure you that every consideration will be given them. I remember meeting you last summer in Boston and I hope that you have been able to continue with your musical studies in which you have so much talent. Sorry to learn that you are in a hospital and trust that your stay there will be a short one."

8-31-49. Stuart Mosher to Williamson (W), 1p: "I know that you will be interested in the enclosed letter (8-11-49 from B) and I hope that you can work out a few questions from it. Mr. Breen is a young fellow, quite talented but not in the best of health. While he is a serious student of cents and patterns, his remarks would indicate that he takes too much for granted. . ."

9-13-49. W to Stuart Mosher, longhand note offering a review of Dr. Sheldon's new book *Early American Cents*: ". . .all yours if you can use it. It was enough work writing it, so I'll even send it to the Scrapbook if you don't use it! (Threat). . . Oh, I forgot, you don't take the Scrapbook."

10-9-49. B to Stuart Mosher, 1p: ". . .Re Early American Cents p60, (about liberty being in a fright) was supposed to have appeared in the Boston Argus of March 26, 1793 & . . . Both newspapers misquoted the Bible about Alexander the coppersmith; Crosby's version of the passage (2 Timothy 4:14) is correct. . ."

"Finally (just for the record) the total score for collectible varieties and subvarieties (of large cents) is not 21070 but 15692 by actual count of specimens in numismatic circulation. This is because many varieties are not known in condition 70, and some that are, are represented in that state only by the specimens in ANS. . . ."

10-21-49. W to B, 5pp: "Mr. Stuart Mosher, Editor of The Numismatist, has referred your 11 August 1949 letter to the writer for reply. First, a sincere apology, then a mild brickbat, and finally orchids to you.

"The sincere apology is for my lateness in replying. In defense, my time for numismatic study and correspondence has to be closely budgeted, because working for a living comes first. Also, in all candor, research on the multiplicity of sixty-four-dollar questions might occupy several months and their full discussion might fill a good-sized book. Please keep up with the questions, but a few at a time! I've no idea I can cover your entire letter in one evening's typing, but I'll go as far as I can, and get the letter in the mail without further delay. The remainder will follow at a later date.

"Now, for the mild brickbat. While you are to be commended for listing source references for your statements, two such references on the first page of your letter are in error and one cannot be located by the writer after a long search. Also, we must all be extremely careful not to break into print with opinions not fully supported by evidence, unless they are identified as such. Far too many numismatists have done this in the past, which makes the facts of U. S. coinage history often difficult or impossible to establish today. I have the feeling, although I may be wrong, that your emission sequence for the cents of 1793 may fall in the category of postulating an 'answer' and then proceeding to make the fairly meagre evidence fit.

"And the orchids for you. It warms my heart to find a copper-cent collector who is really studying his material, and doing some research into the vast unknown of our national coinage. You either own or have access to an unusually adequate library, and are really getting some good from it. Some of the publications you refer to are exceedingly hard to obtain, so I'll reference a few more, equally scarce, that are well worth a good price to have when needed. These are Neil Carothers Fractional Money (1930) . . . and E.J. Attinelli's Numisgraphics (1876). . ."

The following statement is quoted from the first "Cent Collectors' Forum" in the Aug 1949 *Numismatist*:

"The Board is prepared to answer questions from advanced collectors as well as from beginners, so do not hesitate to send your questions along."

"This seems somewhat optimistic since there are many, many questions about copper cents which no one can answer factually. Also there are many more which are beyond the writer's knowledge so I'm sending a copy of this letter to each member of the "Board" with the request that they supplement the material herein if they can.

"A discussion of your questions follows. . ."

(4 pp later) "Your letter gives six short "specialist" articles which I take it are proposed for publication as a part of the Forum or somewhere else in The Numismatist. Lack of time prevents comments on these items now except to state:

"1. The subject matter is generally of genuine interest to cent collectors.

"2. Most of the items need a little more thorough study, documentation and polishing up so that as submitted they are really ready for publication without further editing. Mr. Mosher cannot be expected to check the accuracy of these items since his editorship of The Numismatist is only a part-time job and his numismatic knowledge however great is limited in its application by the 24-hour standard day. When an article appears in The Numismatist it remains as a reference "forever" — so your reputation depends on its accuracy and quality. You must have read many of the type of article which should never have been printed. . . ."

11-2-49. B to W 7pp. "Your letter of 27 October just arrived last night and was something of a numismatic delight. . . Since you were kind enough — and interested enough — to reply to my questions as legitimate and of general interest I feel emboldened to comment on your letter and perhaps ask a few more questions — thanks for the invitation to ask freely. . ."

(p2) "My sources for the 'unusually adequate library' are (thanks!) my own and a few books from ANA and ANS libraries Boston Public Library. . . and other sources. . . . Yes by now I have Dr. Sheldon's work and agree with you perfectly as to its all-around excellence and readability. . ."

"I know (my proposed) 'articles' require more polishing. This is inevitable—I have access only to infinitesimal part of library. Will check up on discharge from Hospital; also intend to submit further material. Large cents and half-cents have been a 'first love' since 1944—especially rarities. . . "

(p3) . . . "Here's hoping no more brickbats will be thrown. . . "

(p5) . . . "I don't like to be catty but WR (Wayte Raymond) is frequently as guilty of just as gross errors as the next fellow—and he burst into print with them too in spite of his oh-so-dogmatic pontifications. . . "

(p7) . . . I trust that this will be the beginning of a stimulating correspondence—it is not often that one can get together and talk coins with someone as well-informed and seriously interested as your letter indicates you are (even over the mails!) In hopes that I will hear from you soon. Very truly yours. . . "

11-12-49. B to W 1p longhand. "Just as an afterthought concerning a couple of topics inconclusively or imperfectly discussed by Dr. Sheldon's new work.. . . " (There follows a discussion of noncollectible varieties of cents 1793-1801; rarity data are tabulated for 21 Sheldon varieties in 8 columns which are then discussed). . . . "Yours for better understanding of our old cents. . . "

1-25-50. (5pp) (W at sea, off Gibraltar) to B.): "Your letters of 2 Nov and 12 Nov have overwhelmed me to the point where I could not possibly find the time to satisfactorily reply to them before leaving on this trip to Italy. . . The subject matter is of very great interest, but please in the future let us take up but one item at a time, so that there is some chance of working fairly prompt replies into a busy schedule of daily living".

"First, let us consider the unanswered portions of your 11 Aug letter. . . "

(p5). "J. J. MICKLEY — GIGANTIC FRAUD OR FATHER OF AMERICAN COIN COLLECTING? In one of my Numismatist articles, I chose to take the latter position. Mr. Mickley collected at a time in our history far different from our own. I consider his monkeying around at the mint as a miniscule sin as compared to the great impetus his activities gave to American coin collecting. Right and wrong actions depend on geography and time. George Washington kept slaves. A National Lottery was a large item in the budget of the U. S. in the War of 1812. The predatory tactics of the Wildcat Banks were not fraudulent enough to cause much stir for many years around this period. Viewed against conditions of his time, were special privileges at the mint a grave enough sin to call Mickley a gigantic fraud? I think not.. . . "

(p6) "We are now off the big rock which serves as the motif for Prudential Life Insurance ads, so will have to wind this up. I haven't commented on nearly all your items, but there is simply not time enough to do so now. . . . "Copies: Mosier, Downing, Sartoris."

2-1-50. B to W at Albergo Maestoso Diana, Milan, Italy. 3pp. ". . . As for my side of our correspondence 'overwhelming' you, my excuse for such long letters is only that it is so very infrequently that I can sit down and talk coins with anyone even by mail, and a long letter is just (perhaps) a short conversation. But this one will be shorter.. . . "

(p2) “. . . I shall try to do this when I get back into college as I expect to do in March.”

2-20-50. (2pp) B to W in Milan. “(p1) Thanks for your kind recommendations—when I returned from pass yesterday night, a letter from Mr. Mosher was handed me which informed me of my ‘election to the Board of the Cent Collector’s Forum’—apparently a result of your kind offices on my behalf with the Editor. And enclosed with that letter was a rather uninformed query from the president of the Columbia Numismatic Society regarding a soi-disant ‘sand-blast proof cent of 1794, reported to be a cast or molded coin’ which inquiry Mr. Mosher had taken the liberty of referring to me as an authority...If this is a sample of the questions that come into the Forum’s offices, ye gods! it is high time that a few common-sense and elementary articles on the simplest phases of cent collecting, never mind the recondite ones, be published.”

(p2). “. . . Incidentally, the one big reason for the relative incompleteness of the ‘specialist articles’ submitted in my earlier letter was the limit of 300 words. . . .”

3-12-50. (5pp) W to B. (p1) “. . . You certainly have the knowledge to operate on the “Board of Experts” for the Cent Collector’s Forum—I’ve never seen the like of the things you dig up. They surely deserve publication. You must try to match this knowledge with maturity of judgment and above all, PATIENCE with the incredible, overwhelming lack of knowledge of Numismatist readers concerning the most elementary facts of U.S. coinage. I am convinced that Stuart Mosher was right when he talked me into the idea of a simple-minded Forum on the grade-school level as the only means of disseminating some of these elementary facts in a manner in which they will be read. So please, in phrasing your replies concerning the ‘sand-blast proofs’ of 1794, don’t talk down to your readers. There is a worthwhile job to be done by being nice to the readers. This question is a fair sample of the questions which will come in, and you are dead right that a few common-sense elementary articles on the simplest phases of cent collecting are needed more than the recondite type.”

“(p2). . . Your observations about the coinage delivery reports being for the calendar year before 1857 are certainly correct.”

“(p3):. . . The idea of limiting a story to 300 words stinks. Take all the words you need.”

“(p5):. . . This is a good yarn, but would be improved by dropping the short-hand notation. Also, suggest you show your article to Mr. Ford before publication. He might be a nice guy; I never met him!”

3-20-50. B to W, 2pp. “(p1). . . You speak about my having to “match knowledge with maturity of judgment”; this is both a quality I realize I need very much and also rather a lot to expect to have yet—according to two recently-discovered sources of information I am only 19 years old instead of 21 as previously thought. So perhaps we can afford to wait for this maturity to come with more experience; I have only been collecting coins since 1944. But thanks a million anyway for your recommendations.”

“(p2):. . . I shall send a copy to Mr. Ford as revised, for his comments &c.; I have had correspondence with him, and in all probability he IS a ‘nice guy’ as you put it.”

“(p2):. . . I have received a very flattering letter from Mr. Mosher wherein he called me one of the foremost experts(!), and wants me to come down to Washington and give the National Collection some serious study. . . .”

6-22-50. B to W, (1p). "I promised to let you know whether I was accepted in college. This did not happen; and the Board of Admissions took long enough to hand down their decision. Confound government red-tape anyway! I expect, alternatively, to go in September, and to a different university — possibly Columbia."

9-7-50. B to W in Italy. (Change-of-address card): "This is to advise that on 25 August I moved from Cushing VA Hospital, Framingham MA USA. New address: 45 St. Stephen St. Boston 15 MA USA. Are you ill? No reply to last three letters."

Nov 1950. (Telegram, John J. Ford to Breen, per 10-24-94 *Coin World* article by Michele Orzano, p 10, quoting Charles Davis of the Numismatic Literary Guild). "'...the most important telegram in numismatic history.' In November of 1950 dealer John J. Ford sent a telegram to Walter Breen advising him of a job interview he had arranged for Breen with Wayne Raymond. . ."

12-2-50. B to W in Fayetteville NY, a suburb of Syracuse. (2pp): "(p1)... As for the indexing of the National Archives material, I too have been in touch with ANS and Mr. Mosher and nothing is definite yet. However, through the good offices of John Ford, who was the real catalyst in getting me the Wayne Raymond job, I have some hopes of getting my fingers into that pie. . ."

12-2-50. (*Penny-Wise* 1-1977 pp276-278, Walter Breen wrote: "I Remember Dr. Sheldon"). "Before I ever met him, his name was one that I would mention in awestruck tones, like the names of Newton, Gauss, Einstein, Archimedes; people who singlehandedly had created a science, who were equally at the top of several different fields. I had known of him, partly from reading that amazing and then unprecedented book Early American Cents, partly from encountering his Psychology and the Promethean Will. . . books that proved that it was possible to write about scientific topics without being impossibly dull."

"And then, on the evening of **December 2, 1950**, I met him, and a legend came to life. His conversation was very much like his writing; his expertise was easy, without being pedantic or flamboyant. This was the same occasion also when I met both Mrs. Paschal (the Good Doctor's longtime confidant and later collaborator on *Penny Whimsy*), and Doug Smith; it was the beginning of a brief and abortive relationship with Homer Downing, who was for a little while like a father to me; it was a turning point in my life, for it opened me up to new fields of study and a new way of looking at humanity and the kinds of games that people play ('monkey traps', the Good Doctor used to call them)".

"In the ten years which followed, I spent hundreds of evenings with him and 'Doctor Dorothy,' sometimes bringing in cents cherrypicked here and there for our mutual delight; and sometimes (alas) bringing them in to sell, as I was usually impecunious enough not to be able to keep them very long; sometimes bringing in manuscripts; sometimes even being afforded the privilege of examining the Good Doctor's incredible coins. . ."

"He was a Scorpio. . . Like other Scorpions, he was a mystery wrapped in an enigma. Almost nobody understood him (I have not the egotism to claim that I ever did, more than a little), but the Good Doctor took this for granted, and he chuckled at the common kiss-of-death misinterpretations which stigmatized him as gay (back when this was thought to be worse than being a rapist or a killer), or as a racist, or as a reactionary. Of course there were reasons why people had these notions; but the Good Doctor was too honest to dissemble, being in his own quieter way as much of a rebel against the 1950's consciousness as was Allen Ginsberg or myself. . ."

12-13-50. B to W in Fayetteville NY, 1p. "Just read your article in The Numismatist. Good work. It was certainly a surprise to learn that [Paul] Revere was ever considered for supplying the Mint with planchets. . ."

"Wayte Raymond has hired me to spend about a month in intensive work at the National Archives, digging up as much information as possible concerning certain features of the Mint's records, history, etc., correcting coinage figures, unearthing material concerning issue and melting up of reported proof coinage and patterns, etc. While down there, I hope to dig up a substantial amount of material about the early cents, too. From your own experience, therefore, would you please help me along with the answers to these questions. . ."

"Itinerary: I hope to leave shortly after Xmas, spend a few days in orientation with Mr. [Stuart] Mosher, then use whole month of January in Archives work, possibly little longer. Please let me hear from you. Thanks in advance for the above information.

12-18-50. W to B, 3pp. "(p2, , If you visit the Mint, I would suggest you request Stuart Mosher to get you a specific appointment plus letter of introduction for a conference with Mr. Edwin H. Dressell, Superintendent. The visiting hours are limited, and I can't remember them. All of the Mint management from Nellie Teyloe Ross on down consider numismatists an unmitigated nuisance, so you will probably have to sell yourself and gain their confidence if you wish to get anything resembling free access to the records in the Cabinet Room."

"(p3):. . . D. K. Watson's History of American Finance (1899) points out that some of the very earliest Mint records were, then at least, stored in the Archives of the State Department (rather than the Treasury Department), presumably because George Washington saw fit to place the Mint under the charge of Thomas Jefferson, Sec'y of State, rather than Hamilton, Sec'y of Treasury, up to 1795."

"(p3):. . . YOUR EMPLOYER AND FELLOW NUMISMATISTS WILL JUDGE YOUR REPORTS MORE BY A RELATIVELY FEW INTERESTING, ACCURATE STORIES YOU MAY GET FROM YOUR RESEARCH, THAN BY THE SHEER VOLUME OF UNRELATED FACTS YOU MAY BE ABLE TO DIG UP."

1-14-51. W to B c/o Stuart Mosher, Smithsonian. 2pp. "(p1):. . . You have undoubtedly found by now that you can only 'case the joint' at the National Archives in one month's time. If by any means you can stretch the time on this project into something near what it deserves, you have the opportunity of several lifetimes to do something for American numismatics. The degree of your success will probably depend ten-to-one more on your ability in handling personalities with tact and diplomacy than it will on your ability as a researcher. . ."

1-29-51. W to B, 6pp. "(p4):. . . And please don't be too harsh in your judgement of Madam Director Ross. If you had her job, you probably wouldn't be able to prevent the appearance of freaks either. There are just too many people to ride herd on, and an extremely large percentage of humanity is trying to beat the game. It really doesn't matter too much after all. . ."

2-17-51. B to W, 5pp. "(p2):. . . A recent letter from Wayte Raymond indicated that he will not be using me in Washington beyond the month originally scheduled; consequently I'll be leaving shortly. He will I believe want some data from the U. of PA, the Phila. Mint & ANS. ??? I wish to God this assignment could have lasted longer. Maybe I can return later. One comfort anyway is that the Army won't snatch me up & interrupt this research — They'll take our recent hon. member B. Max Mehl before they take me. . ."

2-25-51. B to W, 4pp. "(p1): As you have probably surmised by now, my long month at Wayte Raymond's expense in the District of Confusion is ended. However, this does not put on end to my researches, nor to the collating of results. This has only begun — i.e. the sifting and panning of the gold from the carloads of ore, so to speak, that have been dragged out of the Archives."

"Any and all letters that you may be henceforth writing to me will reach me most quickly at ANS. The Society has hired me at least for the next three months, and it is possible that my tenure may be extended, also that later field trips for research may be authorized. My actual labors for ANS whatever they will be) will probably be something of a sinecure when compared with the rather arduous ones at the Archives".

4-8-51, W to M. Vernon Sheldon, ANA President, (1p) ". . . The writing of [my Revere article for *The Numismatist*] and most of the research-by-mail preceding it were done in Italy. It is interesting to note that I was able to locate by mail in 1950 the three 1812 letters in the Revere-Mint correspondence, which formed the framework for the story, in three different cities: The Mint Cabinet Room at Philadelphia, The National Archives at Washington, and Revere Copper and Brass, Inc., New York City."

(Postscript, to Stuart Mosher) : " . . . I talked with Breen a couple of hours at ANS about two weeks ago. Sure wish I could find a way to subsidize his efforts. He is singularly unprepossessing in appearance, but there is nothing wrong that a little money and sense of financial security wouldn't fix."

4-14-51. B to W, 1p. ". . . So far, no talk of renewal by ANS, and I suppose that (failing a second Washington assignment by Wayte Raymond) I will have to take up the proposition of the 46th Street fratelli. . . Dr. Sheldon has been a godsend, even though the Supplement to Early Amer. Cents hasn't yet become reality. Thank the gods for good friends like him."

4-18-51. B to W, 2pp. "(p1): . . . Your letter just came today (gee, a real fan letter!) and it certainly applies salve to the old ego. But seriously, I am surprised that you were so uncritical. If the majority of Numismatist readers are no harder to please, I think I have a chance. And maybe acceptance of this kind will ease my path towards a place to spend my (as of now, apparently unemployed) time after ANS drops me on the 26th of May next." (3 mo).

"(p2): . . . The supplement to Dr. Sheldon's book is definitely going to be written, and that soon; arrangements are even now being made. (Imagine — three years have gone by! It seems like an awfully short time, but I guess that is because time was telescoped in Cushing [VA Hospital])"

"(p2): . . . Wayte Raymond once or twice voiced an intention — how serious I don't know yet — of sending me back to the District of Confusion to finish up the Archives Work. . . ."

5-2-51. W to Neil Carothers, Lehigh U., Bethlehem PA. 2pp. "(p1): You have expressed the hope that you would one day find time to write a truly comprehensive History of U. S. Money. You may then be interested in the recent activities of a young chap named Walter Breen. He spent six weeks earlier this year at the National Archives. . . digging through voluminous correspondence of the Treasury and State Departments attempting to clarify certain points in our early coinage, with special emphasis on reasons why. . . Breen has by now published a little of his research. . . [He] has been on temporary assignment at the [ANS], but his work there is to be terminated in a few days for budgetary reasons.

"Breen's history is unusual in that he is an orphan, now only 19 years old, who lost his memory in military service and wound up in a VA hospital at Framingham, Mass. While there for an extended period, he took up the serious study of money and its history, especially the U.S. picture. Since discharge from the VA hospital, he has been unable to get accepted by any college entrance board, because of the nature of his hospital experience, and this same experience is proving quite an obstacle to his securing gainful employment. Frankly, he is close to being down and out.

"It occurs to me that you may have an interest in placing this man, for the following reasons:

- "1. He has a heart-interest in the study of money and coinage history.
- "2. His outlook is unusually mature for his years, and he expresses himself very well.
- "3. He has detailed familiarity with most of the references in [your book] Fractional Money, and also with many others.
- "4. He has a truly phenomenal memory for associating and re-locating bits of information from diverse sources to form an integrated story.
- "5. He has a profound disrespect for the pontifications and motivations of Mint and Treasury 'authorities.'
- "6. He works like a dog.

"...Do you have any idea where in these United States such an individual could be placed to earn an honest living, get an education or do some good in the world? Do the characteristics mentioned excite enough interest in you to warrant an interview? While the man is not prepossessing in appearance, he certainly has some rare and worthwhile qualifications."

8-21-51. W to B, 2pp. "(p1) "Judging by the above address listing, from the ANA Directory, ['Box 575, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, MD'] You have been accepted for work at Johns Hopkins. If so, congrats and power to you. I'd be interested to know what courses you're taking and how you get along. For God's sake don't let coin collecting (or correspondence) interfere with your getting a degree. Four years isn't so long."

"We both lost a good friend in the passing of Homer Downing. I'm reaching an age where friends and acquaintances seem to drop off pretty often, but his untimely passing is quite a blow. I'm glad Ford did so well by him in the Numismatist obit. Downing's vast but unpublished numismatic knowledge is another case (as Stuart Mosher pointed out several years ago) of where a man should go to press with interim reports if necessary rather than waiting to tie down the last detail. I'm afraid J. J. Pittman will do the same thing, altho he certainly looks as though he had many good decades remaining to him. At any rate, you're not making the same mistake, and you should be mighty proud of what you've been able to do. . . You're getting along fine. I've been extremely busy as you know, working six days a week under a full head of steam, and trying to follow the building of a new house [In Liverpool NY, a Syracuse suburb] . . . "

8-31-51. W to B, 4pp. "(p2). . . It is still my considered opinion that you owe it to your own reputation and to future generations of coin collectors to get as complete a reference list printed with each and every article you publish as the publisher will permit. Abbreviate if necessary; use the smallest type available to the printer; but try to get it included."

1952. Re Breen in John Ford's article in *Coin World* 12-20-78 p18. ". . .Walter Breen worked for us [Wayte Raymond] from 1952 to October 1960. . .Whenever one of our good customers would come in with a real powerful want list, like a Silver Center cent, or a Rosa Americana pattern, Walter and I would sit down and I would get briefed about

everything there was to know about that particular coin. This was added to what I knew, plus a quiz to bring me absolutely up to date."

"I would know the condition census, I would know who owned it 62 years ago, the eight sales it was in, who owned the finest, the whole bit. . ."

4-1-52. B (at Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, where he entered in the fall of 1951), to W at new home in Liverpool NY, Syracuse suburb), (1p). "... Though I have nothing that could be called a 'spring vacation' except the Easter holidays, which I am spending in Massachusetts. . . I do herewith gratefully accept your invitation for the weekend of the 18th-20th. This will cause no difficulty whatever with my studies, because my schedule is light and I will miss no more than one class if I leave before Friday 3PM. . . I might either hitchhike or come by bus, but in either case, I'll call you as directed. Therefore, you may expect me without fail that afternoon or evening."

4-22-52. B to W (1p). "I write this just during the few hours before leaving for NY, the first free time of consequence this week, and without further delay tender my most sincere gratitude for your hospitality this past weekend. Gratitude not unmixed with admiration and regret: admiration for your wife's cooking and irrepressible good spirits; regret that the weekend passed so quickly. My gratitude also goes for your patience with my allergies: at best an inconvenience, at worst an annoyance justifying (?) in some peoples' minds (stretching that term beyond recognition) an assumption of mental quirks or queerness in any sense of that word. . ."

5-24-52. B to W (1p). "Did I tell you, by the way, that the Maryland Alpha Chapter (JHU) of Phi Beta Kappa has elected me to membership? A most unexpected honor. . ."

May 1952. Ford's *Coin World* article 12-20-78 cited above: "... [Breen] graduated from Johns Hopkins after taking a four-year course in one year, completing it with a Phi Beta Kappa key. He came to work for us [Wayte Raymond] right after he left Johns Hopkins. . ."

TO BE CONTINUED

Editor's Note:

Ray Williamson was perhaps the earliest numismatist to recognize the talents of Walter Henry Breen. His encouragement to Walter as well as his admonitions are documented in the correspondence which has been related here. Walter was without question a true genius and his talents were widespread and certainly not restricted to the coinage studies for which he is so famous.

Like so many people of genius, Walter was haunted by more than his share of personal demons. Some of them, in reputation, accompanied him to the grave. As anyone knows who met, talked with, or corresponded with Walter, he did not hesitate to let you know what was on his mind! His thoughts were always profound, and often scurrilous.

In these excerpts from the Williamson-Breen correspondence we have presented the positive numismatic aspects revealed in Walter's letters and associated writings. We have related the good, and redacted the bad and the ugly. Rest in Peace, Walter.

JCS

1764 Broadside Located Covering Circulation of English Halfpence and Farthings in New England

by

Eric P. Newman; St. Louis, MO

The circulation in the American colonies of George II and George III British halfpence, both genuine and counterfeit, has in recent years been the subject of much numismatic research and writing. These coins often referred to as "coppers" were a commodity principally shipped from Great Britain to America for the profit arising from their introduction into circulation as small change by merchants to customers. The expression "coppers" did not include farthings and only meant halfpence or halfpence size pieces (the 1785 Connecticut copper coinage statute confirms that British halfpence were commonly called coppers). Prices in halfpence meant money of account and did not represent the value of a halfpence coin or copper. There has been a question as to the extent of farthing circulation in America because farthings as coins are sometimes mentioned in American laws, tables, etc. Farthings required more cumbersome calculations than halfpence or coppers when used in transactions. The general basis at which halfpence or coppers circulated in small transactions in America was 18 to the New England, lawful or proclamation shilling, 15 to the shilling of the middle colonies and 14 to the shilling of New York and North Carolina. Farthings as coin would have to be used in pairs to be the equivalent of a copper.

During the Confederation period in the United States the counterfeit British style copper coinage struck at Machin's Mills, New York was entirely composed of halfpence size pieces as were all other British style counterfeit copper coins struck or cast in America. Only halfpence were coined in 1773 by the Royal Mint for Colonial Virginia. The authorized copper coinage of Vermont, Connecticut and New Jersey was close to halfpenny size as was the Nova Constellatio and other private copper coinage. The same was true of the 1787 Fugio copper coinage authorized by the Confederation Congress. Only Massachusetts in an effort to create a cent and half cent under the approved Federal system produced two sizes of copper coin but many more cents than half cents were produced.

In *The Colonial Newsletter* of February 1994, pp. 1409-1410, [AE-11] there were specific questions and answers about the circulation of farthings in America. It was pointed out that farthings were usually ignored in written comments on the subject of coinage.

To analyze the availability of genuine English halfpence and farthings in colonial America during the 50 years prior to the American Independence the production of such copper coinage in England is revealing. Under George II from 1729 through 1754 there were 769 tons 10 hundredweight 61½ pounds of genuine halfpence and 49 tons 4 hundredweight 89 pounds of genuine farthings struck. This aggregated 79,779,456 halfpence and 10,588,648 farthings or a ratio of about 7½ to 1 in favor of halfpence. Under George III from 1762 through 1775 there were 200 tons 19 hundredweight of genuine halfpence and 33 tons 3 hundredweight 28 pounds of genuine farthings struck. This aggregated 20,705,769 halfpence and 6,834,128 farthings or a ratio of about 3 to 1 in favor of halfpence. Combining the production for both periods there were 100,485,252 halfpence and 17,422,776 farthings officially struck or a ratio of about 5.75 to 1 in favor of halfpence. Excluding counterfeits this indicates that in England during that period halfpence constituted the bulk of the circulation of copper coin.

There seems to be no accurate way to determine the ratio of counterfeit halfpence to counterfeit farthings either in England or in America but numismatic collections of varieties are usually 20 to 1 in favor of halfpence. The number of evasion varieties of halfpence and coppers listed in James Atkins' *The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century* (London 1892) show 450 halfpence varieties and 41 farthing varieties, indicating a ratio of over 11 to 1 in favor of halfpence and the additions to that work by Damon G. Douglas increases that ratio modestly. Batty in his listing of English counterfeit halfpence and farthings is similarly indicative.

The ratio of counterfeit to genuine pieces is not reliably known for Great Britain. In 1753 Snelling estimates over 40% were counterfeit. At the end of the 18th century P. Colquhoun on behalf of the London police estimated that at one time three-quarters were counterfeit. Counterfeits in America were always much more plentiful than genuine during the reigns of George II and George III because full weight genuine pieces would tend to remain in Great Britain.

The March 5, 1787 report of the New York Committee on Copper Coinage pointed out that of the "various sorts of copper coin circulating in this state" the bulk consisted of George II halfpence, Birmingham or counterfeit halfpence, American state coppers, etc. Unmentioned are genuine George III halfpence or any farthings.

An examination of coin values in American laws, broadsides, almanacs etc. is helpful. In the January 1, 1749/50 broadside relating to coin values in Massachusetts Bay there is a mention of halfpence in the title but not farthings. In the body of the broadside and in accordance with the legislation it is stated "three English farthings for 1d and English Half-pence in greater or less Numbers in Proportion". A 1750 pocket pamphlet on the same subject uses the same language as does an October 23, 1784 Massachusetts broadside. A few almanacs carried similar material. There is a broadside effective August 1, 1765 printed by Daniel and Robert Fowle in Portsmouth, New Hampshire to make the public aware of the value of "coined silver and gold, and English Half Pence and Farthings" which includes:

18 copper Half Pence	1 s
One copper Half Penny	0 s 0 2/3
3 English Farthings	1 d

Two tables including halfpence values were located by serendipity, one of which has a separate table relating to halfpence. I was reading a book on American typesetting history in connection with printing research and it mentioned that an example of 1763 American printing was an exchange table. In checking the Evans listing for the item I located # 9521 which was listed as printed in Providence by William Goddard and held by Brown University. The John Hay Library there became very concerned that the item could not be located, but stated that a Goddard broadside dated 1764 was located as was another broadside printed by Samuel Hall in Newport dated 1763. It became clear that the Evans listing was incorrect and that instead of one exchange broadside being located two were found.

The 1764 broadside has five separate tables of exchange values, one of which is entitled "A Table Shewing how Coppers pass in Lawful Money". An illustration of that table is included, having had stray marks removed and been enhanced by computer for clarity by our editor James C. Spilman.

It is the most detailed and effective halfpence circulation aid I am aware of.

My thanks for assistance in this report go to Peter Gaspar, Philip Mossman, Thomas Serfass, James C. Spilman and the John Hay Library of Brown University.

Large broadside entitled "A Table to bring Old Tenor Into Lawful Money from Six Pence to Ten Thousand Pounds"

Providence: Printed and Sold by William Goddard at the Sign
of Shakespeare's Head. January 1, 1764

(Ratio: 23.33 Old Tenor = 1 Lawful Money)

There are five tables of exchange of which this is most unusual:

A Table shewing how Coppers pass in Lawful Money

18 Copper Half Pence	12d
15 Ditto	10d
12 Ditto	8d
9 Ditto	6d
6 Ditto	4d
3 Ditto	2d
1½ Ditto	1d

In another portion of the broadside it is stated as in other similar documents:

Three English Farthings 1d
And English half Pence in greater or less Numbers in proportion.

For the small Bills, for the oppo-
site Column.

A Table shewing how Coppers pass in Lawful Money:

18 Copper Half Pence	12d.
15 Ditto	10d.
12 Ditto	8d.
9 Ditto	6d.
6 Ditto	4d.
3 Ditto	2d.
1½ Ditto	1d.

INTEREST TABLE.

The Interest for a 100. Bill, one Month, is	£. 0 0 1 1
200. Bill 1 Month,	0 0 1 1
400. Bill 1 Month,	0 0 1 1
500. Bill 1 Month,	0 0 1 1
400. Bill 5 Months,	0 0 1 1
500. Bill 5 Months,	0 0 1 1
200. Bill 10 Months,	0 0 1 1
100. Bill 20 Months,	0 0 1 1
500. Bill 25 Months,	0 0 1 1
500. Bill 40 Months,	0 0 1 1
500. Bill 20 Months,	0 0 1 1

y. WILLIAM GODDARD, at the Sign of SHAKESPEARE'S Head.
[JANUARY 1, 1764.]

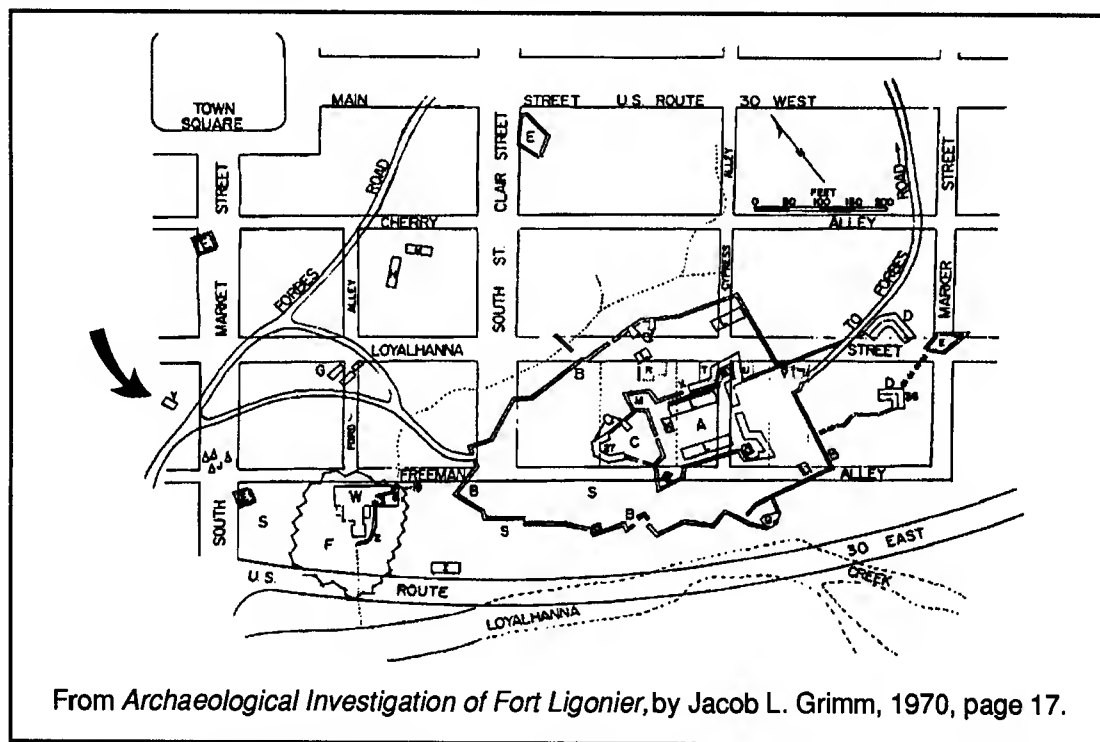
EARLY AMERICAN COINS RECOVERED FROM THE JOHN BRIDGES' TAVERN SITE

by

Gary A. Trudgen; Endwell, NY

Study of the coins recovered by archeology from early American sites provides numismatists with first hand information about which coins were in circulation during certain time periods and parts of the country. This study focuses on the types of coins that could be found in the pockets of our forebears as they traveled through the frontier country of southwestern Pennsylvania during the American Revolution through the early Federal Period.

The coins in this study were excavated from the John Bridges' Tavern Site by Jacob L. Grimm¹ in 1967. The tavern site is located a short distance northwest of the Fort Ligonier site and restoration. The following map shows Fort Ligonier in relation to the present-day village of Ligonier, PA. The building along Forbes Road labeled "Y" was the tavern location.



The British Army began construction of Fort Ligonier on September 4, 1758. Located along Loyalhanna Creek, it was built of timber and earth and named after Sir John Ligonier, commander-in-chief of the British Army. During the French and Indian War, it was the "key to the west" and served as a halfway point between Fort Bedford and the French Fort Duquesne at Pittsburgh. The Fort provided a place for the British Army to rest and provision and as a place of refuge for settlers throughout the war. After the war ended, Fort Ligonier was abandoned in 1765 and quickly fell into ruin. The fort was reconstructed beginning in 1953.

Very little contemporary information is known about John Bridges' tavern. Archeological evidence indicates that it was probably in operation between the years 1775 and 1795. Two contemporary journals mention the tavern. In 1787, Samuel Vaughan as he was traveling west

¹ Endnotes are on page 1540

through Ligonier from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt recorded: "...on a hill are ranges of Store Houses where was the old Fort and many Redoubts, from thence down the hill to Loyalhannon creek to John Bridges." The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, an agent for the Ohio Company on a return trip from the Colony of Marietta in the Northwest Territory, slept overnight at the tavern on Saturday, September 20, 1788. He recorded: "Went on to Ligonier... Put up at Bridges'. A good-looking but ill-natured landlady. Just before I came to the house, passed a pretty large stream, called the Loyal Hanna. Here was Fort Ligonier. Part of the old and of the new Fort remains ²."

The following table lists the coins recovered from the tavern site which are in the possession of the Fort Ligonier Museum. The last three coins, shield nickel and Lincoln pennies, were obviously lost at the site many years after the tavern no longer existed. The remainder of the coins are consistent with the time period in which the tavern operated. All of the coins show evidence of burial and many of the copper coins are badly corroded.

COINS RECOVERED FROM THE JOHN BRIDGES' TAVERN SITE

DATE	TYPE	WEIGHT	ACCESSION #	COMMENTS
1771	Atlee Halfpence, 2-71A, Grade=12	124	67-6-435	
1774	Atlee Halfpence, 8-74A, Grade=20	114	67-6-431	
1787	New Jersey Copper, 6-C, Grade=20	131	67-6-418	30.3mm diameter
1787	Connecticut Copper, 33.36-T.2, Grade=20	119	67-6-390	Draped Bust Left
1787	Connecticut Copper, 38-I.2, Grade=12	136	67-6-2	Draped Bust Left
1785	Constellatio Nova, 5-E, Grade=20	110	67-6-460	Pointed Rays
1773	Virginia Halfpence, Grade=8	104	67-6-225	
?	George II Counterfeit Halfpence	101	67-6-425	Holed
?	George II Halfpence	128	67-6-386	
?	George II Counterfeit Halfpence	106	67-6-388	
?	George II Counterfeit Halfpence	94	68-2-58	
1774	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	112	67-6-212	
1775	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	97	67-6-419	
1772	George III Halfpence	128	67-6-31	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	88	67-6-437	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	124	67-6-451	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	99	67-6-465	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	96	67-6-440	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	111	67-6-414	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	90	67-6-369	
?	George III Counterfeit Halfpence	115	67-6-389	

COIN TABLE (Continued)

DATE	TYPE	WEIGHT	ACCESSION #	COMMENTS
?	Cut Piece of George III Halfpence	31	67-6-450	Obverse bottom ¼.
1730	George II Farthing	63	Privately owned.	
1774	French ½ Sol	77	67-6-448	
(1768-74)	French Sol	168	67-6-436	
?	Copper Disk (Probably British ½d)	138	67-6-370	
?	Copper Disk (Probably British ½d)	130	67-6-257	
?	Copper Disk (Probably British ½d)	120	67-6-452	
?	Copper Disk (Probably British ½d)	94	68-2-48	
1738	Spanish ½ Real	20	67-6-243	Solder mark.
1744	Spanish ½ Real	22	67-6-438	Holed
1748	Spanish ½ Real	22	67-6-244	Holed
1775	Spanish ½ Real	23	67-6-226	Holed
1785	Spanish ½ Real	24	67-6-407	
1787	Spanish ½ Real	23	67-6-495	
1788	Spanish ½ Real	25	67-6-426	
(1708-37)	Cut 1/4 Segment from Spanish 2 Reales	14	67-6-655	Value = ½ real.
(1708-37)	Cut 1/8 Segment from Spanish 2 Reales	7	67-6-1	Value = ¼ real.
(1708-37)	Cut 1/8 Segment from Spanish 2 Reales	7	67-6-449	Value = ¼ real.
1870	Shield Nickel			
1913	Lincoln Cent			
1919-S	Lincoln Cent			

TABLE
NOTES:

- The alphanumeric labels following the first six coins in the table are their die varieties.

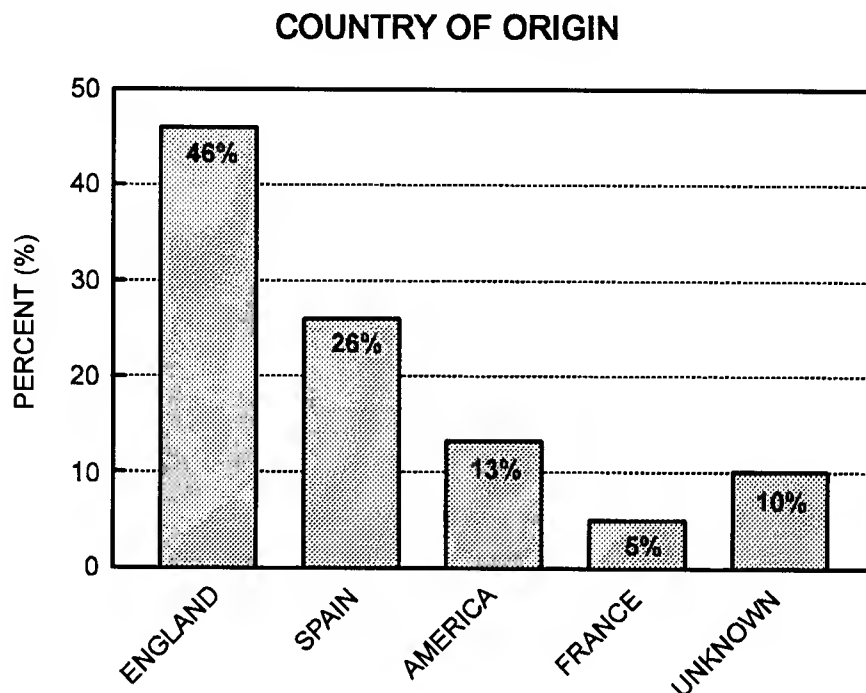
- The numeric grade or condition of the coin is given for the first seven coins (e.g. VG=8, F=12, VF=20)

- Coin weight is in grains.

- The 1738 Spanish ½ real with the solder mark may have been used as a cuff link.

- All of the Spanish silver segments were pie-shaped wedges cut from "cross" pistareens (2 reales) of Philip V. Minted during the period 1708 - 1737 at the Madrid mint these debased coins (.8333 fine) quickly found their way across the Atlantic to the American colonies. See Mossman, Philip L., "Money of the American Colonies and Confederation," p. 58, 1993.

Analysis of the coins provides the following information:



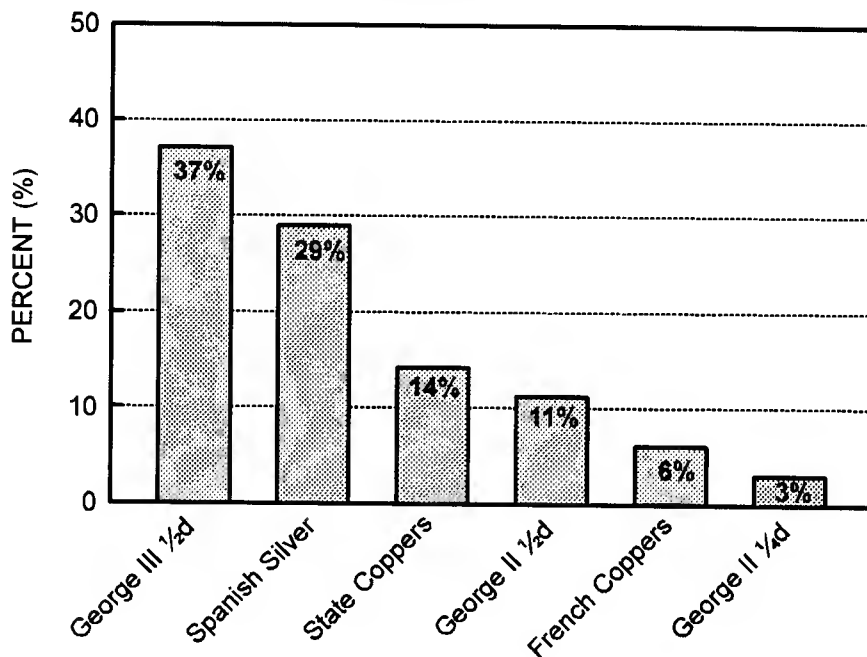
It is easy to see that the majority of the coins (46%) found at the tavern site were of English origin. This includes the George II farthing, all of the George II and George III halfpence, the Virginia halfpence and the Constellatio Nova copper. The Virginia halfpence was minted in London at the Tower Mint for the Colony of Virginia shortly before the American Revolution began. And it is currently believed that the Constellatio Nova copper was minted in Birmingham, England as a speculative venture by Gouverneur Morris, Assistant Superintendent of Finance for the Confederation³.

The two Atlee halfpence, which are imitations (same devices and legends) of George III British halfpence, are thought to have been minted in New York City during the year 1786⁴. Thus, they are lumped in with the American state coppers minted by the states of Connecticut and New Jersey.

The Spanish coins found at the site are "pillar type" silver $\frac{1}{2}$ reales and cut segments of silver 2 reales or pistareens minted in Spain during the reign of Philip V. Interestingly, three of the $\frac{1}{2}$ reales were holed. Since they are small coins and easily lost, perhaps the hole was used to secure them on a string. It is not surprising that only two French coins were found at the site because France never occupied this part of the country. The four unknown copper disks are probably British halfpence, adding further to the majority of English coins found at the site.

All of the coins found at the site are low denomination specimens used for the purchase of small items. This should be expected since few people would be making large purchases in the frontier country of western Pennsylvania.

COIN TYPES



The majority of coins (37%) found at the site were George III halfpence ($\frac{1}{2}d$)⁶. This includes genuine, counterfeit⁶ and Atlee halfpence. All were probably dated between and including the years 1770 to 1775. The George II halfpence which was cut into a quarter segment invites speculation whether this fragment circulated at a face value of $\frac{1}{4}$ farthing,⁷ much like what was done to make "small change" from Spanish silver pieces. It was not, however, cut into a pie-shaped segment as was commonly done to the Spanish silver coins.

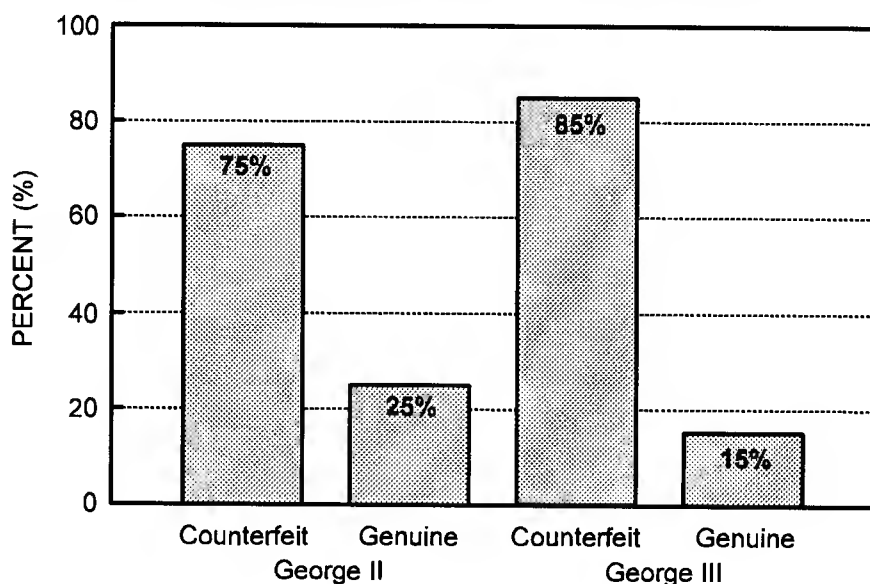
Spanish silver, both whole coins and cut segments, was second at 29%. Next in number are the state coppers which include the New Jersey and Connecticut copper coins. The Virginia halfpence and Constellatio Nova copper have been included with the state coppers because of their close association with the copper coins issued by the states.

The number of George II halfpence (11%) is less than one-third that of the George III specimens. This is expected because George III halfpence were the later issue and more current with the period that the tavern was in operation.

As previously mentioned, only two French coins (6%) were found at the site. Both were copper coins of Louis XV and were issued during the same time period, one valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ sol and the other at 1 sol.

Just one farthing, a genuine George II specimen, was found at the tavern site. British farthings apparently saw considerably less circulation in early America than halfpence. If the British copper coins found at the tavern site are representative of what was circulating throughout early America, then one farthing circulated for approximately every 25 halfpence⁸.

HALFPENCE (COUNTERFEIT VS. GENUINE)



By far, counterfeit halfpence outnumber genuine halfpence as shown by the preceding chart. Three out of the four George II halfpence are counterfeits, while eleven of the thirteen George III halfpence are counterfeits. This statistic is not surprising because both George II and George III counterfeit halfpence were shipped by the boatloads into this country from England, in addition to those that were made in America, such as the Atlee halfpence. And it should be expected that these bogus coppers would readily migrate to frontier country where they would be willingly accepted because of the likely shortage of "small change."

CONCLUSION

It is probable that the coins found at the John Bridges' Tavern site were lost by many people over the entire period that the tavern operated. Thus, these coins should be representative of what specie was actually circulating in the frontier country of western Pennsylvania during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. All of the coins found are small denomination pieces, or "small change," exactly what might be expected in frontier settlements. The majority of the coins were English in origin, which would also be expected in English settled territory. And many of these English coins were counterfeit, an ever increasing problem during this period that grew to crisis dimensions in 1789⁹.

The practice of cutting Spanish 8 reales into pie-shaped segments for use as "small change" in early America is widely known. The pistareen cut segments found at the tavern site show that this same practice was used with lower denomination Spanish silver to make even smaller "small change." In addition to the archeological evidence, a contemporary journal confirms the practice of cutting up pistareens¹⁰. Philip Vickers Fithian, in his journal of 1773 - 1774 which he kept while serving as a plantation tutor in Virginia, says ¹¹:

Christmas Day, 1773: "...a Bit is a pisterene (sic) bisected..."

January 12, 1774: "I gave Martha who makes my Bed, for a Christmas Box, a Bit, which is a pisterene (sic) cut into two equal parts..."

A "Bit" is Spanish-American nomenclature for a value of 1 real. Since the pistareen had a face value of 2 reales, each half would have a value of 1 real or "a Bit" when it was cut into equal parts.

Finally, further study of the coins found through archeology at other early American sites with defined timelines will add to this study and give a better understanding of what specie our ancestors carried in their purses and pockets when America was young.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank the following individuals who made this study possible. J. Martin West, Director, Fort Ligonier Association; Shirley G. McQuillis Iscrupe, Curator of Collections, Fort Ligonier Association; and Jacob L. Grimm, Curator, retired, Fort Ligonier Memorial Foundation.

Endnotes:

¹ Curator, Fort Ligonier Memorial Foundation.

² The "old fort" refers to Fort Ligonier. The "new fort" refers to Fort Preservation which was built in 1777 by order of the Continental Congress during the American Revolution. Fort Preservation was approximately 600 yards east of Fort Ligonier and was used for military stores and protection for the local inhabitants during Indian raids.

³ This belief was recently challenged by an article which suggested through circumstantial evidence that the Constellatio Nova coppers were minted in Philadelphia at a mint established by Robert Morris. The Birmingham provenience is based upon an English contemporary newspaper article. See Hodder, Michael J., "More on Benjamin Dudley, Public Copper, Constellatio Nova's and Fugio Cents," *The Colonial Newsletter*, June 1994.

⁴ "James Atlee's Imitation British Halfpence," Trudgen, Gary A., *The Colonial Newsletter*, March 1987.

⁵ The unknown copper disks are not included in the COIN TYPES summary chart.

⁶ Counterfeit and imitation are used interchangeably to describe halfpence which were minted by private individuals. Copper coins were not legal tender in the 18th century and strict laws did not exist to prohibit their manufacture. Private firms minted underweight coppers and made a profit because their coppers circulated at the same face value as the genuine full weight coppers.

⁷ One halfpence is equal to two farthings.

⁸ This ratio assumes that the unknown copper disks are British halfpence.

⁹ In the summer of 1789 most copper coins ceased to circulate in the more populous areas of this country. Copper prices had fallen and the amount of bogus copper coins was so great that merchants refused to accept most copper coin. The one exception was the New Jersey state copper whose value was backed by the state government.

¹⁰ See Hume, Ivor Noël, "For Necessary Change or, penny problems in the private sector," *Colonial Williamsburg* magazine, Spring 1995, for color photos of quartered and halved Philip V pistareens recovered by archeology in Virginia.

¹¹ Farish, Hunter D., editor, *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773 - 1774*, 1968.

Mike Hodder's Top Picks

The Forty-Five Most Seminal or Timely CNL Articles

Since its founding at the Boston ANA in 1960, and the appearance of the first newsletter issue in October of that year, *The Colonial Newsletter (CNL)* (and later, The Colonial Newsletter Foundation, Inc.) has published the most salient, timely, and state-of-the-art work on early American numismatics. The first three issues of the newsletter were what one might expect from a collector founded and oriented occasional publication: announcements of new finds, queries about old ones, some chat and chatter, nothing really serious or scholarly.

That all changed with the July, 1961 issue (v.2, n.3, still under the editorship of Al Hoch). There, we find Edward Barnsley's first two of many articles dealing with the technical side of numismatics, re-cuttings on New Jersey reverse die Maris v and a 1787 Connecticut Miller 33.2-Z.5 struck over its own brockage. In the same issue, a young man named James C. Spilman of Garland, Texas, published an eight page article on the Fugio Cents of 1787. Jim's contribution was by far the most technically difficult, yet insightful for those who took the time to study it, of any published by *CNL* to that point. It would also prove to be the start of a series on Fugio's that has made Jim the outstanding student of the series.

In May, 1963, Jim Spilman accepted Al Hoch's offer of the editorship of *CNL*. As Jim wrote in his Special Issue (v.4, n.1, seq. pp. 58-59), the offer was based in part on Jim's interest in Fugio's and in part on the articles Jim had published in *CNL*. Jim's first issue as solo editor appeared in August, 1963. It inaugurated several new features that would become permanent fixtures in the publication's arsenal: the Research Forum for questions and answers numismatical; and a reprint from a numismatic publication of the past (the first being from Frossard's *Coin Collector's Journal* of November, 1877). Both aspects of the *CNL* we have come to know were first started in 1963.

Over the following 32 years, *CNL* has been the vehicle for the best work published anywhere in the field of early American numismatics. This has been a result of a partnership very nearly unique in the annals of the hobby. On the one hand, we subscribers have had in Jim Spilman an editor who has both a strong technical background (from his academic training and career in engineering) and an appreciation for the strict factual and evidentiary standards necessary to any scientific pursuit, even one as humble as colonial numismatics. Joined to an exceptionally able editor has been a steady group of contributors whose interest in colonial coins has often transcended the casual and occasionally even reached the seminal.

This is not meant to be an encomium either for the newsletter or its editor, although both are equally deserving of one. Instead, it's a list of those articles that have appeared in *CNL* numbers 1 through 99 that I, personally, feel deserve inclusion, here. How have I chosen what to include and exclude? The criteria have been simple and severe. Excluded are all articles that have not had what I call "field- wide" implications. These are unannotated lists of published dies and die combinations, recitations of already known facts, announcements of new die or variety discoveries, short Technical Notes lacking general implications, Research Forum queries, letters to the editor and replies thereto, and reprints of articles that originally appeared elsewhere in easily obtainable periodicals. Included are articles that have field-wide import, such as the first in a series of articles that opened new vistas for colonial research (eg., Jim Spilman's series on the Fugio's); articles that, at the time they were published, were neglected because they went against the mainstream but later turned out to be more seminal than expected (Everett Sipsey's onomastic and genealogical series comes to mind); articles that turned out later on to be wrong, but that were, at the time they appeared, perfect representations of the state of the art of their time (Breen's work

on the 1787 Immunis Columbia, for example); thumbnail biographical sketches that deliver in a small size the essence of months of research, thus saving us all effort we would otherwise have had to expend (Gary Trudgen is colonial numismatics' master biographer); controversial articles that overturn or reappraise the common wisdom but whose impact is still uncertain (my own contributions include one or two of these); annotated lists of dies and combinations that incorporate new or unpublished numismatic information and that supersede prior work in the same field (these are often minor classics of the art and include Barnsley's updates of Miller on Connecticut's); and articles that are important to the developmental history of the *CNL*, itself (again, such as Barnsley's).

The list to follow is ordered simply chronologically. Since it is meant primarily as a type of retrospective showing, I will list these articles in a variant of standard bibliographical form, with the author's full name leading the entry. Obviously, I will not list the source of the article, since this bibliography is confined only to *CNL* articles. Where appropriate, either because I feel it important to make a point or to explain further why a particular choice was made, I will include some short remarks at the end of each entry.

My list will not please everyone. I make no excuses for what has been included, or excluded, especially my own articles. Each reader and Patron of *CNL* could come up with his own list in an afternoon's time. As far as it goes, this is my list and these are the articles and series I find myself referring back to when I come to do my own work. In other words, these are the giant's on whose shoulders this writer stands. If you don't like my giants, go find your own!

1. **Spillman, James C.** "Some Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787." V.2, n.3 (July, 1961), sequential pages 24-32. The first of Jim's articles on Fugio's and the reason why Al Hoch chose him as his successor editor. Work like this, of an exceedingly technical nature for the times, was exceptional and deserved special recognition.

2. **Edward R. Barnsley.** "Miller's Connecticut Listings Updated." V.5, n.3 (March, 1964), seq. pp. 76-108. A landmark revision and the starting place for any study of Connecticut's, their die varieties, discoverers, rarity, and census. This was Barnsley's full update of Miller and was really the first single author issue of the *CNL*. The tables and interlocking die charts were quite state-of-the-art for their time.

3. **Everett T. Sipsey.** "New Facts and Ideas on the State Coinages." V.5, n.5 (October, 1964), seq. pp. 120-129.

4. **Everett T. Sipsey.** "Dies by Wyon. Part I." V.6, n.2 (December, 1965), seq. pp. 154-159.

5. **Everett T. Sipsey.** "Dies by Wyon. Part II." V.6, n.3 (March-June, 1966), seq. pp. 168-172. Whatever one may think of Sipsey's scholarship, his three articles are, to my mind, among the most seminal in early American numismatics. They were really the first to challenge, in any serious way, the seemingly impenetrable mire of supposition and myth that then surrounded the histories of the Confederation era state coinages. It was brave to challenge the belief that a Wyon or an Atlee made most of the important dies for the coinages of the 1783-1788 period. It was courageous to rest numismatic arguments on genealogical or onomastic evidence. Sipsey's work is largely neglected, today. Even if it cannot be safely used with full confidence, it stands as a first and deserves to be recognized as such.

6. **James C. Spillman.** "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787." V.6, n.4 (January, 1967), seq. pp. 179-183. A near classic exercise in careful and precise examination of dies, leading directly to a new understanding about a coinage. In this case, Jim's minute examination of the Club Rays Fugio obverses led him to propose that these dies, and their coins, were "...produced under

radically different circumstances (including mint location, personnel, material sources for planchets, etc.) than the Fine Ray Fugios." Not a bad finding, it turned out, for a study based solely on traditional, non-mensural, numismatic techniques.

7. Edward R. Barnsley. "Connecticut Coppers: Biennial Pairings of Connecticut Obverses." V.7, n.2 (April, 1968), seq. pp. 206-212. Another classic hobbyist study from Barnsley, "Mr. Connecticut". This is a nicely illustrated article that began the serious study of what Barnsley called "biennialism", the appearance of the same die married to others bearing different dates. Biennially paired dies, as Barnsley suspected, have become the keys to unlocking the "when" and "why" and "who" of state coppers.

8. James C. Spillman. "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787." V.7, n.4 (December, 1968), seq. pp. 237-242. Jim's study of the New Haven dies and the fourth in his series on Fugio's. Jim concluded that the New Haven dies were raised from transfer hubs sunk from an original Fugio die, Newman obverse 5, and were made in the 19th century to create what Dave Bowers so nicely calls "delicacies for collectors".

9. William J. Wild. "Six Over Twelve." V. 8, n.2 (July, 1969), seq. pp. 257-260. First formal publication of an Oak Sixpence (Noe-21) struck over an Oak Shilling (Noe-14, the Spiny Tree). Discovery of the overstrike was credited to Walter Breen in 1957. In itself, not a really important article. I included it here simply because I find these overstrikes extremely intriguing coins.

10. Walter Breen. "Mintage Figures for the New Jersey Coinage." V.9, n.1 (March, 1970), seq. pp. 295-297. Breen's publication of the relevant portions of the official receipt book kept by the New Jersey state treasurer, showing monies received in payment of the selgniorage on the coinage. Breen concluded that the figures showed that all the coppers called for in the state's coinage contracts were actually struck. This document would become the source for much of Breen's speculation about the New Jersey coppers.

11. Edward R. Barnsley. "Connecticut Coppers: Corrigenda Millerensis." V.11, n.1 (January, 1972), seq. pp. 337-341. Barnsley's complete update to Miller's text on Connecticut, with revised rarity ratings, lists of new marriages, etc. A labor of love and the essence of a near lifetime's collecting and study.

12. James C. Spillman. "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787." V.12, n.1 (January, 1973), seq. pp. 378-382. If he did nothing else for numismatics, Jim introduced a series of new analytical tools to the arsenal. In this article, Jim created an isometric die interlock chart for his favorites, the Fugio's. Pictured on seq. p. 378, the chart showed interrelationships among dies and families of dies better than any flat, two-dimensional, die chart ever had. An isometric chart of this sort is particularly well suited for showing die marriages across large families.

13. James C. Spillman. "Abel Buell - Our American Genius." V.13, n.1 (February, 1974), seq. pp. 424-434. Not really a departure from Jim's usual subject, the Fugio's. Rather, an application of the observational numismatic techniques he had applied in his Fugio studies (particularly in the Club Rays article) to Abel Buell's complex obverse and reverse hubs for the Connecticut Mailed Bust Left series. The skills he honed in this study would be put to even better use eight years later.

14. Edward R. Barnsley. "The Interlocked Dies of Connecticut Coppers." V.13, n. 3 (September, 1974), seq. pp. 449-451. Barnsley's chart of the marriages among dies and the die families in the Connecticut series, plotted against a rough timeline. Having done the same sort of thing for New Jersey's, I can appreciate how much tougher it must have been to plot the CT's! The single most difficult problem in such a chart is the inability to place all marriages and families

accurately onto their time lines. Later, Barsnley's chart was unfolded and expanded by Jim Spilman and published as a 11" x 17" foldout in V.16, n.1 (March, 1977), seq. p. 577. Still later a "D" size blueline print of the chart was made available to Patrons on special order .

15. **William T. Anton, Jr. "A Modern Survey of the Copper Coinage of the State of New Jersey."** V.14, n.2 (July, 1975), seq. pp. 487-513. A single contributor issue, that distilled the essence of collector-dealer Anton's knowledge about New Jersey's. Anton's mint attributions and condition reports by variety are still referred to.

16. **John M. Sallay. "The Depreciation of the Massachusetts Currency and the Effects of the Redemption in 1750."** V.15, n.1 (January, 1976), seq. pp. 519-531. Not a reprint, but a simultaneous publication with Al Hewitt's *Numismatic Scrapbook*. Sallay's article was an in-depth study and contained data not easily found elsewhere. The invoice of costs for the coinage freighted to Massachusetts from Southwark in 1749 showed more than two tons of farthings sent to Boston in 1749.

17. **Jerry Zelinka. "The Enigmatic Voce Populi Halfpenny of 1760."** V.15, n.3 (October, 1976), seq. pp. 555-565. Another single contributor issue. While this is mostly a catalogue listing of dies and varieties, because it incorporates information not obtainable elsewhere, and because it so completely superseded Nelson's sketchy treatment, I have included it here. In its own way, it is a paradigm of how to do a catalogue.

18. **Walter Breen. "The 'New York' Immunis: A Mystery Unravelled."** V.18, n.1 (April, 1979), seq. pp. 667-676. This is vintage Breen, the man at his peak. I have included it here because it is so perfectly typical of the state of the art at the time and because it so typifies Breen's contributions to analytical and historical numismatics. Breen's eidetic memory allowed him to remember and track individual coins. Together, his native intelligence and prodigious memory made him seem nearly infallible to a generation and more of numismatists. His powers of historical analysis were lacking, however, and his cavalier attitude towards the evidentiary rules of history often led him to discover as fact what a trained historian would condemn as groundless speculation. Breen's legacy to early American numismatics is large and should be appreciated. It should not obscure the realization that he has also left a tremendous mess of misinformation and error behind him that a new generation has to go about clearing up.

19. **James C. Spilman. "An Overview of Early American Coinage Technology."** V.21, n.1 (April, 1982), seq. pp. 766-776.

20. **James C. Spilman. "An Overview of Early American Coinage Technology."** V.21, n.2 (July, 1982), seq. pp. 780-798.

21. **James C. Spilman. "An Overview of Early American Coinage Technology."** V.22, n.1 (March, 1983), seq. pp. 799-811.

22. **James C. Spilman. "An Overview of Early American Coinage Technology."** V.22, n.2 (July, 1983), seq. pp. 812-830. More than any others, the above four articles represent Jim's greatest contribution to the study of early American numismatics. One can learn more about die making and coining from reading these than from any other single source. From how die steel was produced to how dies were cut, from how planchets were made from strip to how a coining press worked, Jim's overview series deserves, in my opinion, recognition as the single most important and influential study ever to appear in *CNL*.

23. **Gary A. Trudgen. "Machin's Mills."** V.23, n.2 (July, 1984), seq. pp. 861-883. Gary's first major numismatic study. Using the source material thus far published, and relying on traditional attribution schemes and Breen's earlier work, Gary created an annual chronology for the coinage types he believed were struck at Machin's Mills. The biographical data Gary included is still very useful.

24. **James C. Spillman. "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787."** V.25, n.2 (October, 1985), seq. pp. 922-925. Jim's return to his favorites and his suggestion that the Club Rays Fugio's were struck by Abel Buell's son, Benjamin, April through June, 1789. Jim wrote that he was moved to publish this article by "...a growing tendency in recent years...to ascribe anything of uncertain origin in the area of Early American numismatics...to...Machin's Mills and...James F. Atlee."

25. **Phillip L. Mossman. "Money of the American Colonies and Confederation: A Numismatic, Economic, and Historical Correlation."** V.26, n.3 (September, 1986), seq. p. 964 [1-196]. Phil's *magnum opus*, published here in an early draft version for comment and critique by CNL readers. A most unusual undertaking but one that resulted in improvements to the book, principally in the numismatic area. As every CNL Patron should already know, Phil's book was later published by the ANS and has won well deserved awards for its excellence. The section on the coppers panic of 1789 is outstanding.

26. **Gary A. Trudgen. "James Atlee's Imitation British Halfpence."** V. 27, n.1 (March, 1987), seq. pp. 965-979. In many ways, this is Gary's own *magnum opus*, for it distills into a few pages a complete diesinker and mint attribution scheme for what are popularly called Machin's Mills counterfeits. Using published sources, traditional understandings, and some numismatic analysis, Gary discovered four separate groups among the coppers he ascribed to Atlee and dated them with a precision not usual in early American numismatics. On the strength of this article Ken Bressett revised the listings for Machin's Mills in the *Guide Book*.

27. **Michael Hodder. "The Saint Patrick Copper Token Coinage: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence."** V. 27, n.3 (November, 1987), seq. pp. 1016-1018. I like to think of this article, together with an earlier one on the 1779 Rhode Island Ship token, as the beginning of the end of the reign of speculation and myth in early American numismatics. Both articles tackled subjects that had been considered closed and both discovered that historical sources proved the older tales about them to be inaccurate.

28. **Phillip L. Mossman. "Addendum I: Corrections, Additions, and Suggestions Made by Patrons..."** V.28, n. 1 (February, 1988), seq. p. 1023 [197-208]. Not only did Phil request critiques from CNL readers, a more than courageous gesture in this field, but once he had them, he then transcended even his outstanding bravery and published what he had received, and with thanks.

29. **Gary A. Trudgen. "Matthias Ogden."** V.28, n.2 (June, 1988), seq. pp. 1032-1051. A really lovely biographical sketch, considered and thorough, and sympathetic to its subject. Gary's picture of Ogden is sensitive and understanding and went a long way to helping me try to appreciate Ogden's role in the New Jersey coinage after June, 1788. This is a real classic of its genre and goes to prove why Gary is our foremost biographer of early American numismatical personages.

30. **James C. Spillman. "Preliminary Report: CNL Fugio Weight Survey."** V.28, n.3 (November, 1988), seq. pp. 1053-1068. Once again, Jim drags the Patrons into the 20th century of scientific numismatics. Metrology and histograms may have sounded more like medical terms than numismatic ones before, but once the Patrons digested Jim's weight survey data they were no longer afraid of admitting a standard deviation into their homes!

31. **Michael Hodder. Research In Progress: New Jersey Biennial Dies.**" V.29, n.2 (August, 1989), seq. pp. 1094-1098. The first publication of data showing that many New Jersey die families were actually coined later than their obverse dates would suggest. More importantly, evidence was presented for a return to good weight coppers that appeared to coincide with Matthias Ogden's commission to take over the minting: a nice dovetailing of the numismatic evidence and Gary Trudgen's biographical sketch of Ogden.

32. **Michael Packard. "Auction Appearances of Massachusetts Coppers."** V.29, n.2 (August, 1989), seq. pp. 1100-1107. Other collectors had tried this before but none had been successful enough to publish the results in really credible form. Mike presented his findings about which varieties were rare in which grades, as well as his estimates of the mintage figures of each. There was a surprising correlation between his estimated rarity ratings based on mintage and his estimated rarity ratings based on population surveys.

33. **Jack Chard. "Late 18th Century Coinage Dies: the Metallurgical Processes Involved."** V.30, n.1 (March, 1990), seq. pp. 1136-1143. For the first time, Patrons were introduced to the subject of how coinage dies were made by a trained metallurgist. Jack's revelations about Benjamin Huntsman, his remelting process, and the use of Huntsman's steel to make dies for Matthew Boulton, were eye-opening.

34. **Phillip L. Mossman. "Money of the Colonies and Confederation...Connecticut Revisited."** V.30, n.1 (March, 1990), seq. pp. 1144-1149. Applying metrological analytical techniques to Connecticut coppers, Phil discovered that the 1787 Draped Bust Left coppers did not appear to be a homogeneous group, at all, but rather, betrayed variances suggestive of different mints. This was another example of metrology demolishing apparent uniformity (another will be found in the New Jersey Heads Left "group", which was as unhomogeneous as the 1787 DBL's).

35. **Gary A. Trudgen. "John Bailey, New York City Colner."** V.30, n.2 (July, 1990), seq. pp. 1153-1185. Another little masterpiece from our preeminent biographer of early American coinage characters. The biographical information is extremely valuable and obtainable nowhere else in so compact a form.

36. **Gary A. Trudgen. "New York City Mayor's Court and the State Coinages."** V.30, n.3 (October, 1990), seq. pp. 1192-1202 [with Supplement, 1-35]. A truly ground-breaking study. No one had investigated and published the numismatic evidence available in the minutes of the New York City Mayor's Court. These records, which span the Confederation period, include scores of references to characters involved in one or more aspects of coinage at the time. Associations of individuals in suits may suggest business relationships outside the court. Gary examined the relationships at suit and postulated their extensions beyond the bar.

37. **Michael Hodder. "The 1787 'New York' Immunis: A Mystery Re-Ravelled."** V.31, n.1 (January, 1991), seq. pp. 1203-1235. If this article hasn't put the final nail in James F. Atlee's coffin, and exorcised all the speculative attributions of dies to his single hand (Machin's, NJ's, CT's, VT's, etc), then nothing short of a time machine will ever suffice to lay this ghost to rest!

38. **Jeff Rock. "Corrigenda Millerensis, Revisited."** V.31, n.2 (May, 1991), seq. pp. 1241-1257. The first of a projected two part update to Barnsley's 1972 update of Miller's 1920 work on Connecticut's. It is not likely that we will see part two in the near future, given the author's present circumstances.

39. **Gary A. Trudgen. "A Brief Look at the Life of Thomas Goadsby."** V.32, n.1 (February, 1992), seq. pp. 1284-1290. Essentially, all that can be learned about Goadsby, one of the three New Jersey coinage partners, without spending a lifetime to learn just a bit more.
40. **Michael Hodder. "Attitudes Towards the Coinage Right In Early Federal America: the Case of New Jersey 1788-1794."** V.32, n.2 (July, 1992), seq. pp. 1310-1316. Submitted as a paper to the XI International Numismatic Congress, the study showed that passage of the Constitution, with its restriction of the coinage right to the federal government, did not stop the states either from continuing with their own coining or from releasing their already struck coins into general circulation.
41. **Gary A. Trudgen. "Samuel and James F. Atlee: Machin's Mills Partners."** V.32, n.3 (October, 1992), seq. pp. 1317-1352. Everything that can be conveniently learned about the biographies of this father and son team whose names continually crop up in references to state and illicit coinages. Another masterpiece of biography by Trudgen but I find the numismatic arguments less convincing.
42. **Michael Hodder. "Cecil Calvert's Coinage for Maryland: A Study In History and Law."** V.33, n.1 (February, 1993), seq. pp. 1360-1362. The old and hoary myth of Cecil Calvert's indictment for *lese majesté* is finally laid to rest and the real reasons for why he felt he could strike coins in his own name, and why Cromwell's government objected to his coinage, are presented.
43. **Michael Hodder. "Oh, What Tangled Webs We Weave."** V.33, n.3 (October, 1993), seq. pp. 1396-1400. Evidence, in the form of notes and letters once kept by Essex County (NJ) High Sheriff Caleb Camp, shows that the Head Left NJ coppers were not struck by Thomas Goadsby and that they may actually have been coined over a long period of time. Another example of the importance of "non-numismatic" evidence for the study of early American coins, and another myth fallen.
44. **Michael Hodder. "The New Jersey No Coulter Die Families."** V.34, n.1 (February, 1994), seq. pp. 1416-1424. As Phil Mossman found in the 1787 DBL Connecticut's, and Jim Spilman did in the Fugio's, just because a type looks similar across different dies doesn't mean all the dies were made and struck by the same hand. The No Coulter families of NJ dies are no exception, betraying four separate groups and suggesting at least two different minting sites.
45. **Michael Hodder. "More on Benjamin Dudley, Public Copper, Constellatio Nova's, and Fuglo Cents."** V.34, n.2 (June, 1994), seq. pp. 1442-1450. There appears to be evidence that the Nova Constellatio coppers were coined in Philadelphia by Benjamin Dudley in 1785. The Fugio coppers of 1787 could have been made from one of many different stores of public copper available in 1787. The coining equipment Dudley made for the 1783 Nova Constellatio patterns survived and may have been referred to in 1785. The evidence thus far published that the Nova's were struck in England is unconvincing to this writer.



RE-RE-REUNION IN NEW JERSEY OF THE TWO KNOWN NEW JERSEY 71-y COPPERS WITH VERMONT UNDERTYPES

by

Roger A. Moore, MD; Moorestown, NJ

At present there are only two known New Jersey colonial coppers with the Maris designation 71-y having Vermont, bust right, state copper undertypes. The most recent find was from a dealer's "junk box in New Hampshire" which has found its way back to New Jersey by way of a Boston dealer (1). This new find has a Vermont Ryder 24 (2), otherwise known as a Bressett 16-S (3), as the easily attributable undertype. (see Figure 1, page 1549) The other 71-y was purchased through a mail bid auction (4) and has a Vermont Ryder 9 (Bressett 7-F) or "baby head", as the undertype. (see Figure 2, page 1549) The discovery that the owners of these two coins reside within blocks of each other, making it possible to bring the coins into direct contact, was enabled by the condition census work of John Griffiee (5) with his listing of known 71-y coin owners.

Of course the reader must question what, if any, numismatic relevance should be attached to the present close proximity of the coins' most recent owners. In truth there is little relevance, except for the flights of fancy that can occur as one considers the possible mutual histories of these coins. One can imagine copper ore being laboriously mined and formed into usable planchet stock, before being delivered over dirt roads to the minters of Vermont coinage. The hard-working minters can be imagined stamping these two coins from common planchet stock, as they strove to earn an honest living. Following the minting process, one can imagine the widespread dissemination of these welcomed coins as travelers dispersed them while buying food and taking ferries from state to state. One can also fantasize about how these two coins found their way, by some unusual quirk of fate, into the hands of a New Jersey copper minter where they were accidentally stamped with the 71-y dies, only to be separated once again in far flung usage throughout the rapidly developing federation. The most recent stage in these coins' lives might have been sitting dormant for decades in two widely separated but prized copper coin accumulations, until their recent discoveries. Without question the scenario outlined is a wonderful, romantic journey which is fun to contemplate, while sitting in a comfortable armchair sipping an aged brandy. However, how well do these flights of fancy hold up in the light of numismatic fact?

Let's first consider the relationship of the two Vermont undertypes to each other - the Ryder 9 and 24. On October 27, 1785 Reuben Harmon, Jr. was granted permission by the General Assembly of Vermont to produce copper coinage "in pieces weighing not less than four pennyweights, fifteen grains" (6,7), which in essence repealed the June 15, 1785 enactment allowing him to mint copper coins of "one third of an ounce each" or six pennyweights and sixteen grains (6,7). From this enactment the landscape type of Vermont coinage was produced. However, the acceptance of these coins was limited to the state of Vermont, possibly due their light weight in relationship with other copper coins and due to their unconventional devices, compared to coinage from Connecticut, where many of the Vermont freemen had initially been natives (6).

On October 24, 1786 Mr. Harmon was given a new coinage contract by the Vermont General Assembly which included a design change on the coinage to make them more like Connecticut coins, as well as a duty free license to mint the coins for three years and an extension of the whole contract for eight years (6,7). Under his newly granted petition, Reuben Harmon had Col. William Coley make the "baby head" dies which were then used to mint the Ryder 9 coins at his Rupert, Vermont mint in late 1786 and early 1787 (8). Bressett indicates that the die alignment of these coins were in "nearly every position" (3), indicating a somewhat sloppy minter's work ethic. Due

All Illustrations 3x Enlargement



Figure 1 - Obverse and reverse of New Jersey 71-y with Vermont Ryder 24 undertype.



Figure 2 - Obverse and reverse of New Jersey 71-y with Vermont Ryder 9 undertype.

to continued difficulties in keeping a usable supply of functioning dies, Reuben Harmon made an agreement on June 7, 1787 with Captain Thomas Machin, and others at the Newburgh, New York mint, to share in both the minting and the profits of Vermont coinage (7). The resultant co-partnership gave "full and equal shares" of any and all profits as well as losses stem from all Vermont coinage both in Vermont and Machin's Mills to each of the ten partners, a group of six associated with Machin's Mills mint and a group of four associated with the Rupert mint.

The obverse die used to make the Ryder 24 coin is thought to have been made from a common hub, most likely produced by James Atlee in 1787, and used to make many of the bust right Vermont coins. Most, if not all the Ryder 24s, were minted at the Machin's Mills, New York mint in 1789. The dies of the Ryder 24 are "usually slightly misaligned" (3), possibly indicating greater attention to the minting process at Machin's Mills than by the minters of the Ryder 9. By 1790 due to the copper panic and the lack of a significant profit from the coining enterprise, Harmon left Vermont for Ohio where he became a salt maker. Thus, a rational analysis of our flight of fancy attributing both the Ryder 9 and 24 coins to common planchet stock, as well as to a common mint in Vermont, couldn't be further from the truth. While the Ryder 9 might have been minted by honest coiners, the work ethic of these individuals must be questioned due to the sloppiness of their die alignments. In addition the Ryder 24 planchet stock came from a different year than the Ryder 9, and more significantly, from a different state. Also, due to the Ryders 24's origins from the suspect Machin's Mills mint and in spite of the formal agreement Machin's Mills had for the production of Vermont coinage, a shadow of doubt must be cast on the legality of this issue. This is especially true in light of Harmon's inability to make an adequate living from the declared profits. In addition, the imagined widespread use of these coins from state to state is far from accurate. Due to the underweight nature of the Vermont coinage in comparison with other state coinage, it was poorly accepted outside of Vermont; and I would hazard a guess, not especially liked even within Vermont, except for the pressing need for small coins to aid in daily commerce. Other state coinage contained significantly more copper than the Vermont coinage, or at least should have. For instance, the weight of the Connecticut copper was suppose to be six pennyweights (144 grains) and New Jersey coppers were legislated to be six pennyweights and six grains (150 grains) (6) - both far greater than the mandated four pennyweights and fifteen grains for Vermont coins (111 grains).

Therefore, the Vermont undertypes cannot truly be said to have had a reunion, since they were never very closely related. However, what about a New Jersey reunion for our 71-y New Jersey coins? The 71-y is thought to have been minted in New Jersey, but not in 1787 as the coin's date would imply. Interestingly, the undertype Ryder 24 is dated 1788. Rather, the 71-y is thought to have been minted following closure of the Rahway mint on June 1788, after the minting operation had been moved to Elizabethtown under the direction of Matthias Ogden (9,10). Based upon information gleaned from the die sequences of the New Jersey 17-b (11), the early coins minted in the Elizabethtown mint used a variety of depreciated coinages for planchets, because of an acute shortage of proper weight planchet stock. This early Elizabethtown is thought to have occurred in the summer of 1789. Once proper weight planchet stock could be obtained (late Elizabethtown mint in 1790) underweight coins from abroad and from other states were no longer used (11). All the "plaited mane" varieties, including the 71-y, are found minted with a number of different undertypes (8). If findings from the New Jersey 17-b can be extrapolated to other Elizabethtown coinage, the minting of the 71-y also occurred during the period when other state coins were used for planchets - the summer of 1789 (11). Since the Vermont Ryder 24 was thought to have been minted in 1789 and since a Ryder 24 serves as the undertype for the Maris 71-y, the timing for the minting of the 71-ys can be estimated to be sometime after the movement of coining materials by Ogden to Elizabethtown in the summer of 1789 (11). Of interest, the poor quality and underweight nature of these newly circulated New Jersey coins was called to the attention of the New Jersey General Assembly in May of 1790 but no corrective action was taken (11). By the time Ogden had planchets of proper weight, the poorly constructed 71-y dies had fallen apart. One mystery remains to be explained. Why were there no mulings of either the obverse [71] or the reverse die [y] with other New Jersey dies in use at Elizabethtown? We must

presume that both obverse and reverse dies were taken out of use at the same time, but is it logical to presume that both dies became unusable at exactly the same time? It is even more curious if one considers that the same holds true for two other plaited mane varieties - the 70-x and the 72-z.

So once again our fantasy has been found to be wanting in accuracy of detail. It was no accident that two light weight Vermont coppers found their way to Ogden's New Jersey mint, as planchet stock. Full weight copper coinage was being hoarded by a increasingly wary public, and light weight coins were the only ones readily available for use as planchets. Ogden, not being able to find decent planchet stock, was forced to use this coinage. In fact, the coins might have been brought to Elizabethtown by James Atlee or William Buell during their travels from mint to mint as die sinkers, since partial payment for die sinker's services was often rejected or discarded coppers (9). Unfortunately, issue of these underweight coins, as well as the out pouring of underweight New Jersey counterfeits from Machin's Mills, contributed to the undermining of New Jersey state coinage in a manner similar to what had occurred to other states (12). In August of 1789 a copper crisis occurred, leading to the refusal by most trade's people any circulating copper coinage. Though New Jersey coinage initially escaped this devaluation, by 1790 the sudden increase of light weight New Jersey coppers also caused a similar rejection of New Jersey coinage (11). Because of this, copper coins were removed from circulation, not as prized accumulations, but as severely depreciated mediums of exchange. It's only the recent resurgence of interest in these coins that have lead to their being brought out for sale, even if only as junk box items.

The message of this discourse is obvious. While both an armchair and a brandy are wonderful adjuncts to flights of fancy, don't rely on them when piloting a plane. On the other hand, both the realistic and the imaginative approaches can give one a lift!!

HAPPY HUNTING !!!

Acknowledgement:

I thank the other members of the "Moorestown Mafia" with special thanks to Philip Devicci for his patience instruction on coin photography and David Gladfelder for the use of his 71-y.

Endnotes:

- 1) Smith R, Region 1 (New England) News, In: *The C4 Newsletter*, ed. Hodder M, Vol 2, No. 4, December 1994, pp 11.
- 2) Ryder H, *The Colonial Coins of Vermont*, 1920; reprinted by Durst Publications, NY, 1981, pp 1-6.
- 3) Bressett K E, Vermont Copper Coinage, In: *Studies on Money in Early America*, eds Newman E P and Doty R G, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1976, pp 173-198.
- 4) Bowers and Merena, Frontenac Sale, Nov. 20-22, 1991, Lot 229.
- 5) Griffie J, New Jersey Copper Report, *Penny Wise*, March 15, 1993, Consecutive Issue No. 155, pp 90-91.
- 6) Slafter E F, *The Vermont Coinage*, 1870; reprinted in Sanford J. Durst Numismatic Publications, New York, 1981, pp 9-40.
- 7) Crosby S S, *The Early Coins of America*, 1875; reprinted in Quarterman Publications, Lawrence, MA, 1983, pp177-202.
- 8) Breen W, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, Doubleday, New York, 1988, pp 78-87.
- 9) Anton Jr. W, "A Modern Survey of the Copper Coinage of the State of New Jersey", *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume 14, No. 2, July 1975, pp487-513.
- 10) Douglas D G, "The Original Mint of the New Jersey Coppers", *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Volume 69, No. 3, July 1951, pp 223-229.
- 11) Hodder M, New Jersey 17-b Reconsidered: A Puzzle Not Quite So Puzzling, *Penny Wise*, November 15, 1994, Consecutive Issue No.165, pp 354-359.
- 12) Newman E P, American Circulation of English and Bungtown Halfpence, In: *Studies on Money in Early America*, eds. Newman E P and Doty R G, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1976, 134-172.



MORE Comments on the Vermont Notes of 1781

by

Sanborn Partridge; Shelburn, VT

(TN-52A)

The key to the following comments has been recent opportunities to examine and study all eight denominations of the Vermont notes of 1781. They appeared as one issue only and, rather untypical for the times, were promptly redeemed. My census attempts, begun about 1974, suggest that only 110 or so specimens escaped ... but happily with some examples in each of the eight denominations.

My information suggests that five (5) complete sets have now been assembled: two in the hands of well-known numismatists and three in museum collections. That alone accounts for forty specimens. Small wonder that individual collectors in the past did not experience many opportunities for comparisons!

Various design elements turn out to be distinctive, sometimes unique. Consequently, in combinations, it becomes possible to determine from which denomination, front or back, even a fragment came!

I have track of two interesting cases where upper and lower halves from distinctly different denominations have been rather skillfully joined (presumably in recent times). Illustrations and a discussion of these composites will appear in the next issue of *CNL*. [CNL-101]

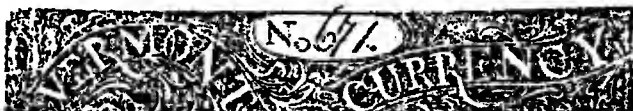
I. Certain easy-to-spot features on the faces of the notes appear on alternate denominations: that is, the 1 shilling, 2 shilling 6 pence, 10 shilling, and 40 shilling notes show the same variant, whereas the 1 shilling 3 pence, 5 shilling, 20 shilling, and £3 [= 60 shillings] notes show the same alternate variant. Pure examples of this are the top border and the round seal. [See Alternations Chart on page 1558.]

A) Face, upper half ... The top border bar occurs either:

1. with a black field and VERMONT CURRENCY straight across the top in uninked white, and with a centered white rectangle immediately below it in which to put the note's serial number, or



2. with a black field and VERMONT CURRENCY in wavy arcs across the top in uninked white, and with a centered white ellipse above its sag in which to put the note's serial number.



B) *Face, midway ... The outer ring of the round seal occurs either:*

3. with an "open" white field with letters in black, or



4. with a "closed" black field with letters in uninked white.

**C) *Face, upper and lower halves***

The right and left side borders almost fit the alternating pattern, but the 2s 6d and 20s notes are out of step. The alternatives occur either:

5. with an "open" or simple "swaying vine" within parallel lines (shown rotated 90° CCW), or



6. with a complex, dark, and fancier "swaying vine" within parallel lines (shown rotated 90° CCW).

**D) *Face, lower half***

The treatment of "By Order of Assembly" also almost fits the alternating pattern, but the 1s and £3 notes are out of step (1s uses slanted italics, and £3 is hybrid with "Assembly" in italics and "by Order of" in upright upper/lower case). The main alternatives are either:

italics and "by Order of" in upright upper/lower case). The main alternatives are either:

7. with "*By Order of Assembly*" in slanting italics, or
8. with "By Order of Assembly" in upright upper/lower case.

The treatment of "February" also almost fits the alternating pattern, except that the 1s note is out of step and the 5s note is oddball in having capitals for "FEBRUARY". The usual alternatives are either:

9. with "*February*" in slanted italics, or
10. with "February" in upright upper/lower case.

Still another example nearly fitting the alternating pattern is the treatment of "Windsor", which is always on one line and without need of hyphen except for the 5s note where "Wind-sor" is in upright upper/lower case, hyphenated, and on two lines. The usual alternatives are either:

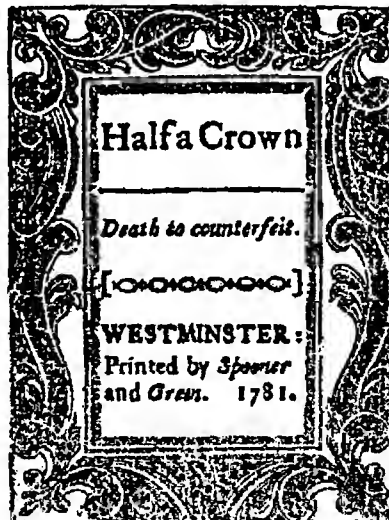
11. with "*Windsor*" in slanted italics, or
12. with "Windsor" in upright upper/lower case.

But the 1s and £3 notes are oddball in having big and little capitals for "WINDSOR".

II. Some other features are geared to whether one is looking at the four lowest denominations or the four highest denominations. In other words, 1s, 1s 3d, 2s 6d, and 5s show one variant, while 10s, 20s, 40s, and £3 [= 60s] show the other variant. [See Low/High Denomination Chart on page 1559.]

E) *Back, upper and lower halves*

Of this sort are the rectangles on the backs of all denominations, where the alternatives are either:



13. larger, "vertical" rectangle for the lower denominations, or

14. smaller, "horizontal" rectangle for the higher denominations.



Another example is the treatment of "Westminster", for which the alternatives are either:

15. "WESTMINSTER" in block capitals for the lower denominations, or
16. "WESTMINSTER" in slanted italics capitals for the higher denominations.

F) Back, middle

Yet another example is the treatment of "Death to counterfeit", where the alternatives are either:

17. "Death to counterfeit" in slanted italics for the lower denominations, or
18. "DEATH to counterfeit" with "DEATH" in capitals and "to counterfeit" in upright upper/lower case.

G) Back, lower half to middle

Still another example is the treatment of "Spooner and Green" which always breaks into two lines. The alternatives are either:

19. " Spooner / and Green" partly in slanted italics for the lower denominations, or
20. "SPOONER & / GREEN" in capitals with an & for the higher denominations.

One 20s note I have seen poses a problem. It ought to be like other 20s notes and the other higher denominations in using "SPOONER & / GREEN", but shows instead the low denomination "Spooner / and Green"! If it is untampered, it would seem to knock out the ruling theory that, since the Assembly ordered the same number of each denomination to be issued, one plate with all eight denominations on it was made so that each pass through the press produced the same number of each denomination automatically. (Incidentally, that press, the earliest printing press in Vermont, is still in existence and in the hands of the Vermont Historical Society.) On the other hand, the oddball difference may have uncovered a very skillful repair that borrowed from a low denomination specimen! Hopefully an answer will be forthcoming in time. (Editors note: See Ken Bressett's article in this issue, page 1570, where he shows that the note was, indeed, altered.)

H) *Face, middle*

The redemption language difference which I spotted and reported on in *The Colonial Newsletter*, April 1975, pages 480-483 [TN-52], almost fits the low/high end dichotomy ... except for the 10s note. In an awkward technical sense, the 1s note could have been redeemed (partially) "in Spanish milled Dollars at Six Shillings each in Gold or Silver equivalent" (the wording of the high end denominations) for 10s = 120 pence and the Spanish milled dollar was then worth 72 pence to 76 pence, leaving a change problem. So the 10s note stayed with "in Silver at Six Shillings and Eight Pence per Ounce", the low end redemption formula.

I) *Face, lower half*

Since the word "Assembly" is in all cases split between two lines, a hyphen is expected. The actual pattern nearly fits the low/high end dichotomy, except that the 1s 3d and 10s notes are out of step. The 1s 3d note omits the hyphen entirely (as do the 20s, 40s, and £3 notes), whereas the 10s note has the hyphen (as do the 1s, 2s 6d, and 5s notes).

III. Several features are outside of any possible alternation system for the whole series of eight denominations. (See Miscellaneous Chart on page 1560)

J) *Both face and back, upper half*

The denominations are of course unique and, in some form, appear on both front and back of the notes. The type fonts and words usually vary as between front and back. A table follows:

Face*One Shilling**One Shilling and Three Pence**Two Shillings and Six Pence**Five Shillings**TEN SHILLINGS**TWENTY SHILLINGS**FORTY SHILLINGS**THREE POUNDS***Back***ONE SHILLING**Fifteen Pence**Half a Crown**FIVE SHILLINGS**TEN SHILLINGS**ONE POUND**FORTY SHILLINGS**TEN DOLLARS***K) *Face, upper half***

Check the word "milled" in "Spanish milled Dollars", which is only found in the 20s, 40s, and £3 notes: it has the majority "milled" spelling in the 20s and £3 notes, but substitutes "mill'd" in the 40s note.

Or take the word "pence" in the redemption language: it starts with a capital "P" in the 1s, 1s 3d, 2s 6d, and 10s notes, with a small lower case "p" in the 5s note, and naturally is entirely absent from the highest end denominations (20s, 40s, and £3).

L) *Face, lower half to mid*

The phrase "the first Day of June" spreads over two or three short lines immediately to the right of the seal on the face of the note. Thus one finds lines ending variously:

"A.D." for the 1s, 1s 3d, and 5s notes;
"June," for 2s 6d, 10s, and 40s notes; and
"Day of" for the 20s and £3 notes.

Moreover, the word "June" is in upper/lower case for the 1s and 5s notes; in capitals for the £3 note; and in slanted italics for the rest.

M) *Face, mid*

The first words in the first of the short lines to the right of the seal turns out to be an almost unique feature: only for the 2s 6d and 10s notes does that line start the same way. The first words are:

"and Eight" for the 1s 3d note
"per Ounce" for the 2s 6d and 10s notes
"1782" for the 5s note
"Six Shillings" for the 20s note
"first day" for the 40s note
"each or" for the £3 note

Surely the foregoing recital of themes and variations should be enough to establish that the 1781 typesetter used printing fonts imaginatively and definitely not always consistently. The consequence, of course, is that one denomination is not exactly like another and even fragments of Vermont notes of 1781 may have recognizable "footprints". The photos and charts that follow should make this even clearer.

Chart I. Alternations appears on page 1558

Chart II. Low/High Denomination Relationship appears on page 1559

Chart III. Miscellaneous appears on page 1560

**Illustrations of each of the eight Vermont Notes of 1781
together with a discription of the key diagnostics
of each note and a discussion by ye Editor
begin on page 1561.**

**Illustrations and a discussion of several
composite notes will appear
in CNL-101.**

I. Alternations

	Note Value	1s	1s 3d	2s 6d	5s	10s	20s	40s	£3[60s]
Face:	Simple	x				x	xx	x	
R&L Borders	Complex		x	xx	x				x
Face: Upper	Straight	*		*		*		*	
Top Border	Wavy		*		*		*		*
Face: Mid	"White"	x		x		x		x	
Seal Outer Ring	"Dark"		x		x		x		x
Face: Lower	Italics	**	*		*		*		Note 1
"By Order of Assembly"	U/L Case			*		*		*	
Face: Lower	Italics	xx	x				x		x
February	U/L Case			x		x		x	
	Capitals				xx				
Face: Lower	Italics			*		*		*	
Windsor	U/L Case		*		Note 2		*		
	Capitals	**							**

- * Alternating checkmark types (x and *) are used to help the reader separate the catagories.
- * XX or ** indicates out of sequence with the normal pattern.
- * Note 1: " by Order of
Assembly"
- * Note 2: " Wind-
sor"

II. Low/High Denomination Relationship

	Note Value	1s	1s 3d	2s 6d	5s	10s	20s	40s	£3[60s]
Face: Mid Redemption Language	6s 8d	x	x	x	x	xx			
	Milled \$						x	x	x
Face: Lower 2-Line Assembly	Hyphen	*		*	*	**			
	None		**				*	*	*
Back Rectangles	V. Larger	x	x	x	x				
	H. Smaller					x	x	x	x
Back: Mid Death to Counterfeit	Italics	*	*	*	*				
	DEATH, U/L					*	*	*	*
Back: Lower to Mid WESTMINSTER	Capitals	x	x	x	x				
	Italics					x	x	x	x
Back: Lower to Mid Spooner and/& Green	and	*	*	*	*				
	&					*	*	*	*

- Alternating checkmark types (x and *) are used to help the reader separate the categories.
- XX or ** indicates out of sequence with the normal pattern.

III. Miscellaneous

	Note Value	1s	1s 3d	2s 6d	5s	10s	20s	40s	£3[60s]
Face: Upper	"milled"						x		x
Style Variation	"mill'd"							x	
Face: Upper	Capital	*	*	*		*			
P of Pence"	Lower Case				**				
Face: Mid	A.D.	xx	x		x				
"the Final Day of	June			x		x		x	
June, A.D. 1782"	Day of						xx		xx
Face: Mid	U/L Case	**			**				
Style of "June"	Italics		*	*		*	*	*	
	Capitals								Note 1
Face: Lower	After m	x	x				x		
"Assembly" break	After 1st s			x	x	x		x	x

- Alternating checkmark types (x and *) are used to help the reader separate the catagories.
- XX or ** indicates out of sequence with the normal pattern.
- Note 1: Large and small capitals.

Illustrations of the Vermont Notes of 1781

Introduction by ye Editor

In working with the illustrations of these notes ye Editor recognized, probably for the first time in his 68 years, the true meaning of the phrase "mind-boggling". Prior to this, that phrase had been perceived only as a general expression of confusion resulting from information overload, or somesuch situation; but, to really experience it in all of its glory has been a humbling experience!

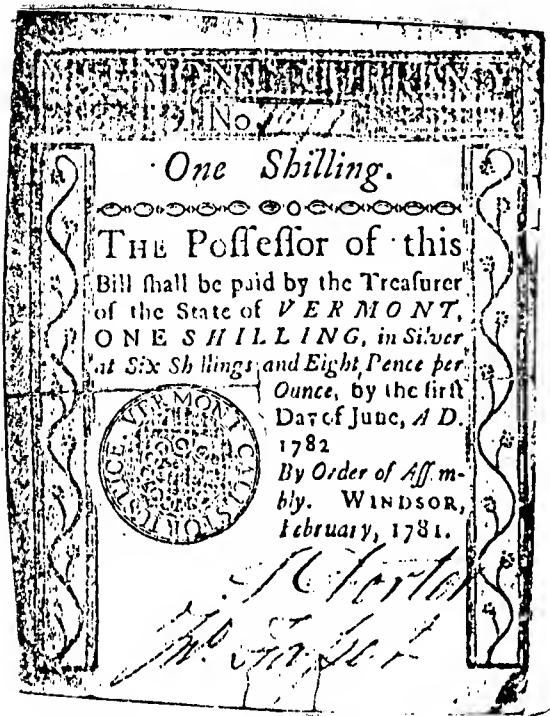
This has been my first experience with dual-denominated notes where the valuation on the front differs (most of the time) from the denomination on the reverse, or the Face and Back as Sandy Partridge categorizes them! To further confuse things - - where the denomination is the same, the type faces are different so that the valuations, while identical, *look* different! I suppose that in a time when pounds, crowns, shillings, pence and dollars were interchanged on a regular basis it was not so confusing, but today to equate Two Shillings and Six-Pence to Half a Crown is a bit much, especially when one is sorting out a great stack of photographs and trying to separate one from another and (properly) paste them up on a plate to illustrate each note. Additionally, there were several photos of different specimens for each denomination and it seemed necessary that the Face and Back of the same note be shown together. Then there were some composite notes where bits and pieces of several notes had been fitted together to produce a whole note!

After several weeks, on and off, of thoroughly mixing things up beyond any chance of redemption, ye Editor adapted Miller's notational scheme (taken from Crosby before him) and started marking photographs with simple numbers and letters. That is 1-A, 2-B, 3-C, and etc. The Face of the lowest denomination note was 1, the Back was A, and so on until we reached the top of the stack where 8 is a Three Pounds Face and H is its Ten Dollar Back. For Sandy who took some twenty years between Part One and Part Two of this *CNL* article on the Vermont Notes of 1781, keeping track of what-is-what must have become second nature, but for ye Editor to quickly accommodate the archaic terminology was truly "mind-boggling".

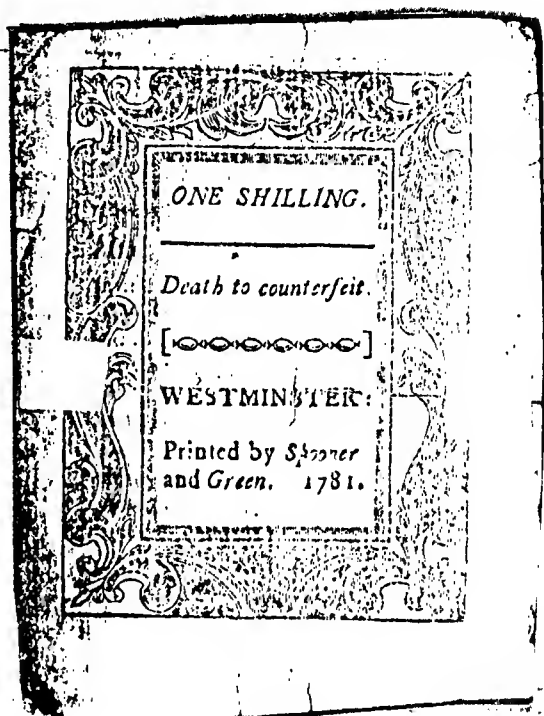
On the following eight pages of illustrations, each sheet includes a small double box just below the picture which proclaims that note's "Crosby" designators: 1-A, and etc. Well, you say, these are not coins, dies were often interchanged but not the Faces and Backs of notes, of what use is this simple minded approach? Well, I say, just wait until we get to the composite notes in the next issue! And - we start thinking about the layout of printing plates and press operations, as well. With the exception of Note 8-H (the Three Pounds/Ten Dollars Note) the illustration for which was kindly provided by Eric P. Newman, all illustrations are from the collection of Sanborn Partridge. Each sheet includes a tabulation of the key diagnostics for the particular note.

In order to help sort all of this out ye Editor produced a set of FilmPrints of these notes and made a serendipitous discovery. These notes are not simple typeset creations as assumed in Ken Bressett's discussion which follows, beginning on page 1570, but include the use of logotypes not only for some of the text groups within the rectangles but for the border designs as well. For example, the simple swaying vines, the left and right vertical designs, appearing as a pair - - left and right - - with blossoms pointing upward on note 1-A, are identical with the pair for Note 5-E that point downward. This left and right pair of "simple swaying vines" comprise a single logotype which was inverted in the printing press during the makeup of Note 5-E. We plan to discuss all of the various logotypes in *CNL*-101; time simply did not permit getting it into this issue. In the meantime our Patrons can start searching for them! It might also be interesting as well to consider how logotypes may have been fabricated and used in the press lockup of the chase. During my early days in High School I did letterpress handset composition as well as operate a hand-fed-sheet platen press, and to discover the apparent use of logotypes in 1700's printing is a real surprise!

One Shilling



Face: One Shilling



Back: ONE SHILLING

1	A
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Straight

Seal:

White

Left & right side borders:

**Simple swaying vine;
blossoms point upward.**

Rectangles:

Large vertical

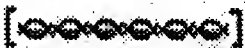
Death to counterfeit.

**Spooner
and Green**

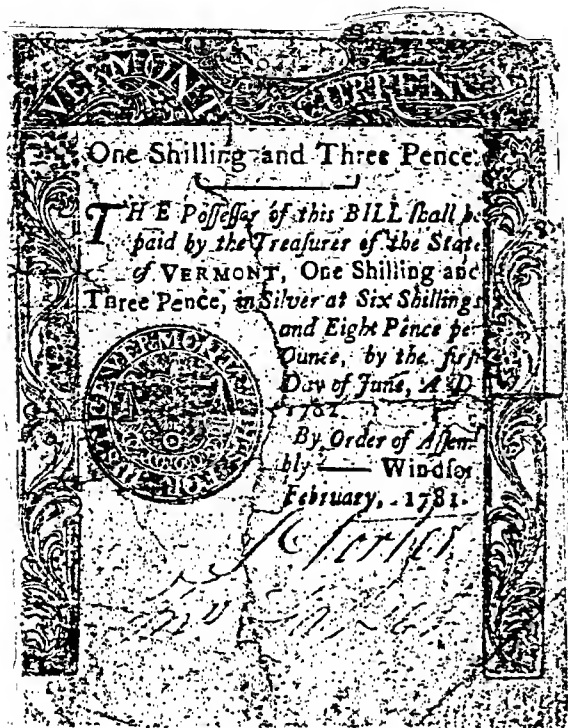
Internal Ornament:



Internal Ornament:



One Shilling and Three Pence



Face: One Shilling and Three Pence

Back: *Fifteen Pence*

2	B
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Curved

Seal:

Black

Left & right side borders:

Complex swaying vine

Internal Ornament:



Rectangles:

Large vertical

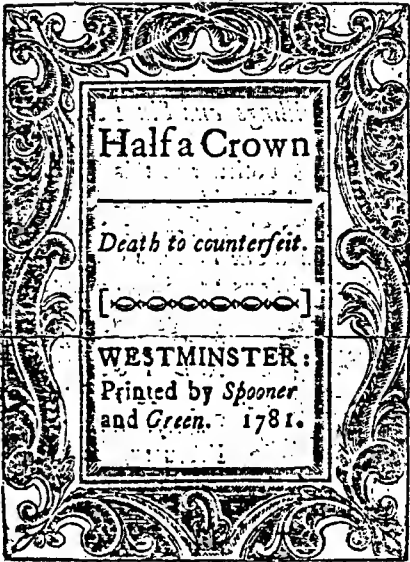
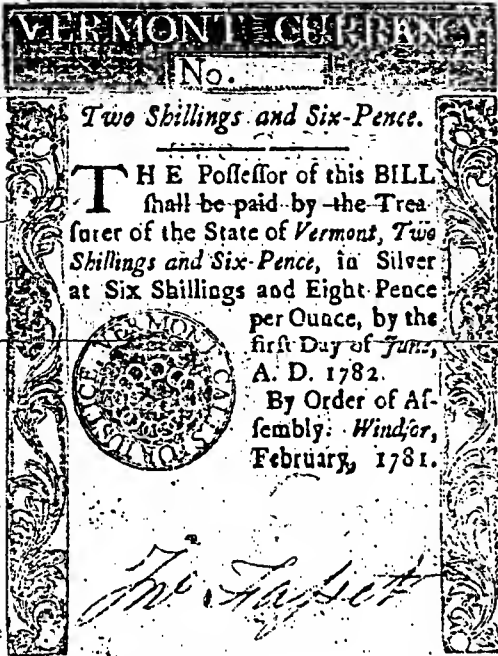
Death to counterfeit

*Spooner
and Green*

Internal Ornament:



Two Shillings and Six Pence



Face: Two Shillings and Six-Pence

Back: Half a Crown

3	C
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Straight

Seal:

White

Left & right side borders:

Complex swaying vine

Internal Ornament:



Rectangles:

Large vertical

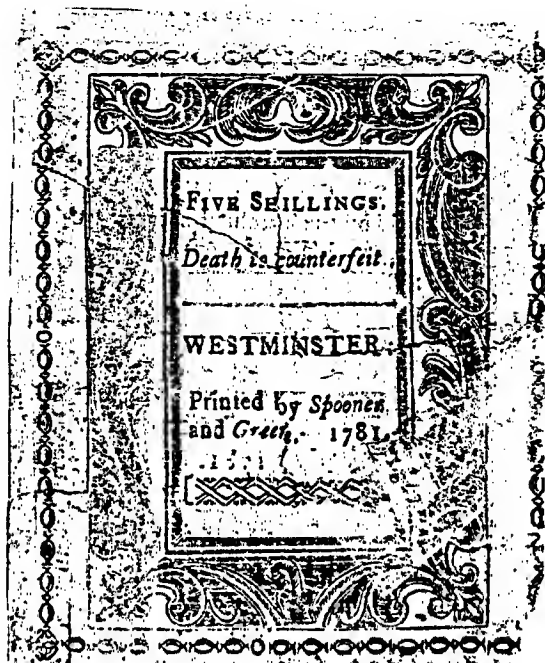
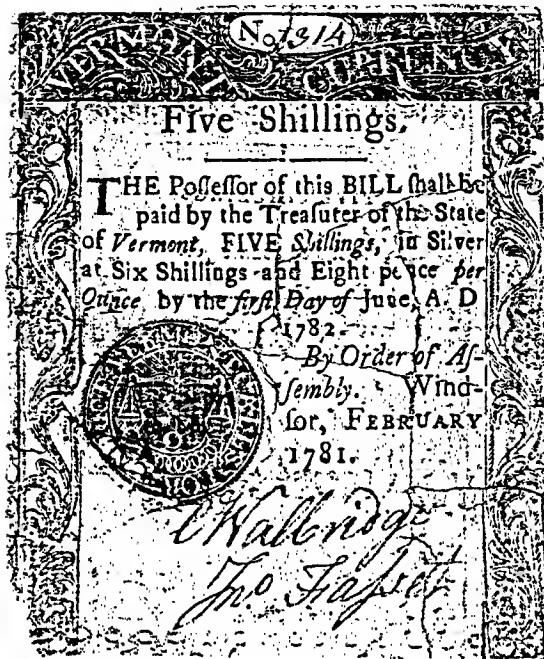
Death to counterfeit.

*Spooner
and Green*

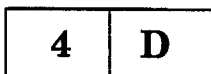
Internal Ornament:



Five Shillings



Face: Five Shillings



Back: FIVE SHILLINGS

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Curved

Seal:

Black

Left & right side borders:

Complex swaying vine

Rectangles:

Large vertical

Death to counterfeit.

***Spooner
and Green***

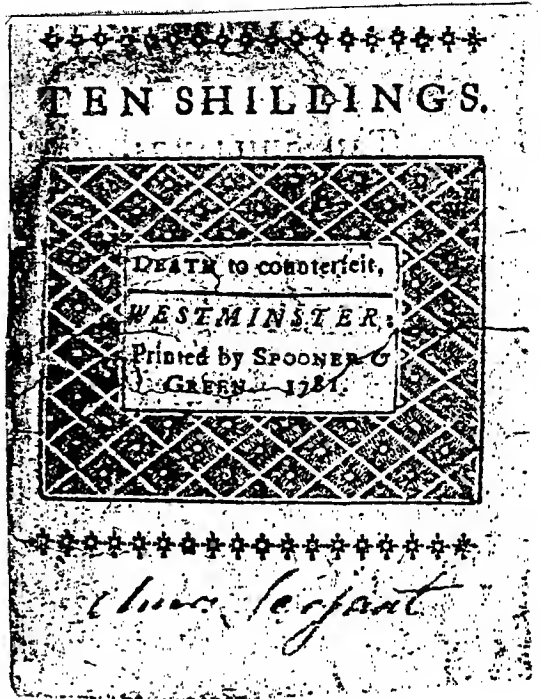
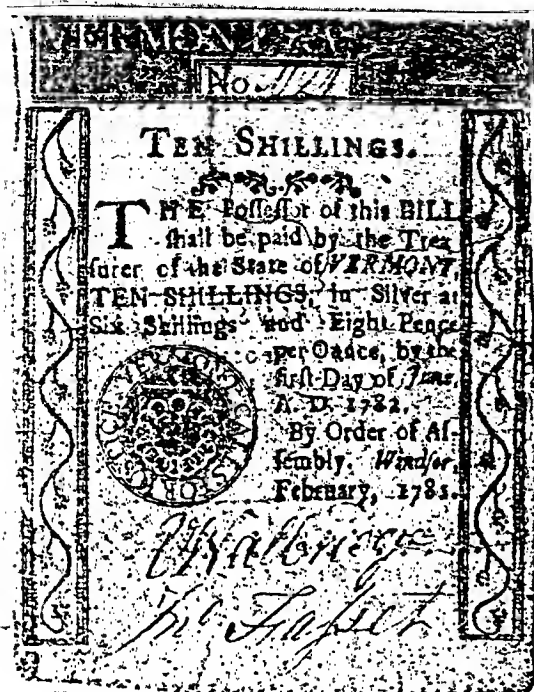
Internal Ornament:



Internal Ornament:



Ten Shillings



Face: TEN SHILLINGS

Back: TEN SHILLINGS

5

E

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Rectangles:

Straight

Small horizontal

Seal:

White

Left & right side borders:

DEATH to counterfeit.

Simple swaying vine.

SPOONER &

GREEN

Note, however, that the blossoms point downward, whereas on the one, twenty and forty shilling notes they point upward.

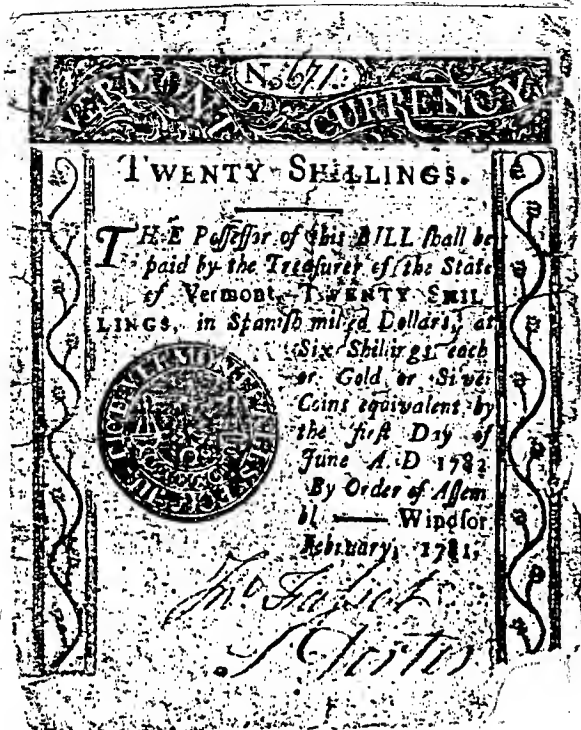
Internal Ornament:

Internal Ornament:



None

Twenty Shillings



Face: TWENTY SHILLINGS



Back: ONE POUND

6	F
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Curved

Seal:

Black

Left & right side borders:

**Simple swaying vine;
blossoms point upward.**

Internal Ornament:

Rectangles:

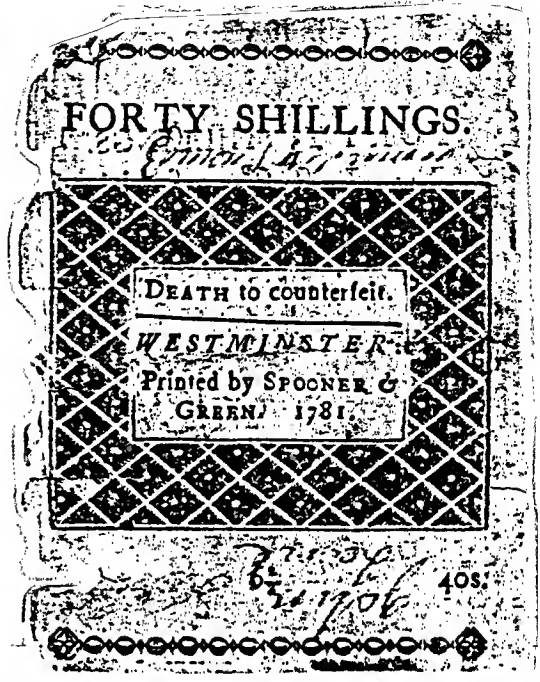
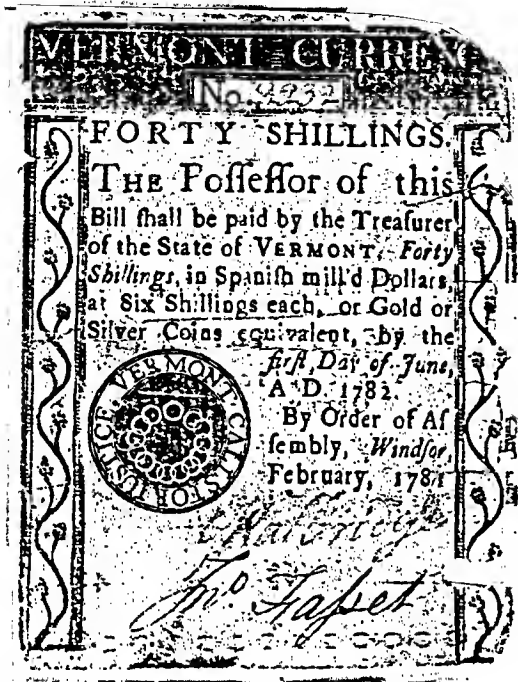
Small horizontal**DEATH to counterfeit.**

**SPOONER and
GREEN**

Internal Ornament:

None

Forty Shillings



Face: FORTY SHILLINGS

Back: FORTY SHILLINGS

7	G
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Straight

Seal:

White

Left & right side borders:

**Simple swaying vine;
blossoms point upward.**

Internal Ornament:

None

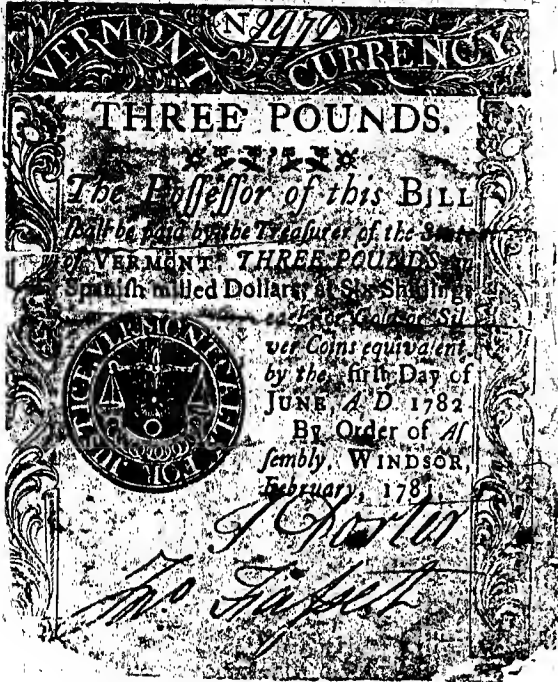
Rectangles:

Small horizontal**DEATH to counterfeit.****SPOONER &
GREEN**

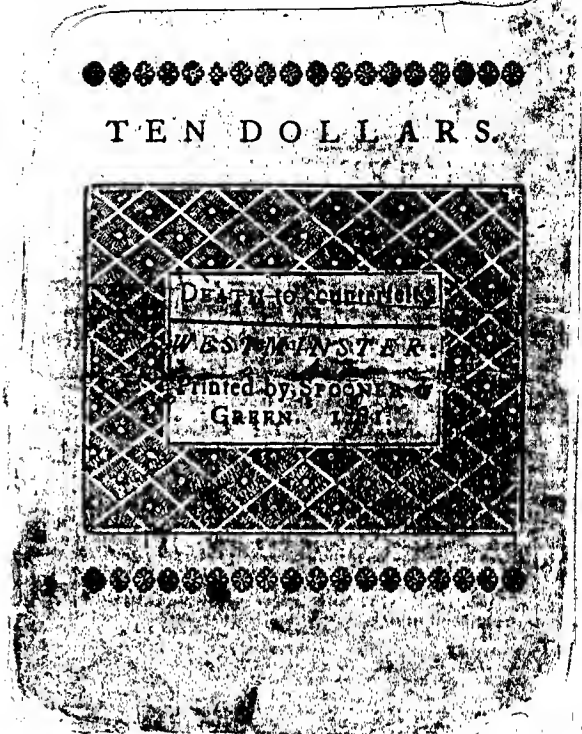
Internal Ornament:

None

Three Pounds



Face: THREE POUNDS



Back: TEN DOLLARS

8	H
---	---

Key Diagnostics

Top border bar:

Curved

Seal:

Black

Left & right side borders:

Complex swaying vine

Rectangles:

Small horizontal

DEATH to counterfeit.

**SPOONER &
GREEN**

Internal Ornament:



Internal Ornament:

None

RESEARCH UNMASKS AN ALTERED VERMONT NOTE

by

Ken Bressett; Colorado Springs, CO

When Sanborn Partridge was preparing the listing of special characteristics found on Vermont Currency (see page 1552 of this issue) he discovered a note that did not follow the normal arrangement of other pieces. This note did not appear to be pieced together, as is so often the case, and no extensive repairs could be detected. He subsequently asked me to examine the suspected note, and to publish my findings along with his article to test the validity of his check list.

The note in question was a Twenty Shillings Vermont Currency of February 1781. Two major differences were evident between this specimen and all other known pieces of this issue. On the face of the suspected note the word "coins" appears in lower case letters. The same word on the control specimen is rendered as "Coins", in upper and lower case letters.

On the back of the suspected note the printer is shown to be "Spooner and Green", in upper and lower case letters. On all other specimens this is shown as "SPOONER & GREEN" in caps and small caps, with an ampersand rather than the spelled out word.

My initial examination of the note was done with a Bausch and Lomb 7x Hastings Triplet. I carefully compared the entire surface of both the suspected piece and a control note that appeared to match other known specimens (see Illustration No. 1 on page 1571). After isolating the points of difference, I concentrated on those spots to determine if the paper had been repaired or altered in any way. It was obvious that some repair work had been done on both notes, but the full extent of the restoration could not be seen immediately.

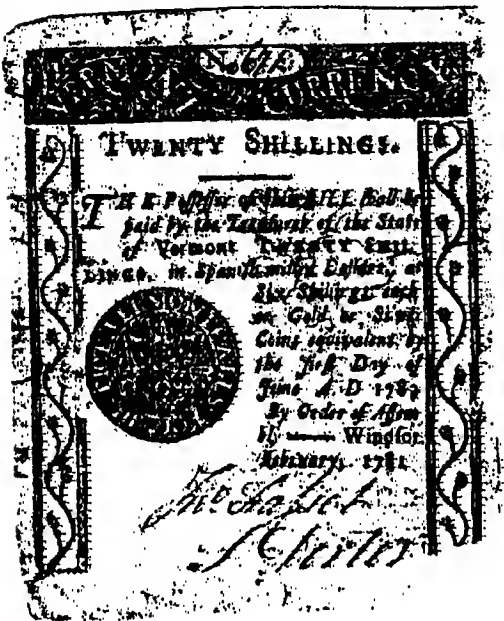
I then examined the suspected areas with another handy Bausch and Lomb lens, their 7+ measuring magnifier equipped with both metric and protractor scales. I find this an excellent tool for measuring linear surfaces as small as 0.1 mm, and for making comparisons with other similar objects. This is a wonderful measuring device for paper money, but unfortunately it does not work as well with the contoured surface of coins. I used this device to check on the shape and size of the suspected letters in the areas where there were differences in style or lettering. A more thorough examination of the note was then carried out using a Nikon SMZ-1 stereo microscope at 70+ magnification.

All of the 1781 Vermont Currency notes were printed in the same fashion and at the same time. They were printed by letter press from hand set type and hand engraved wooden decorative border plates. Exactly 3,600 of each denomination were printed. It would be logical to assume that they were printed in sheets, probably composed of four or more denominations to each sheet. This style of printing, called "surface printing" or "letterpress printing", uses metal type cast in lead. The type was coated with ink and pressed into the paper. Notes printed in this fashion often show the result of the pressure of the press where the type is punched into the paper, leaving a slight indentation on the face of each letter, and a corresponding punched through or raised outline on the other side of the paper.

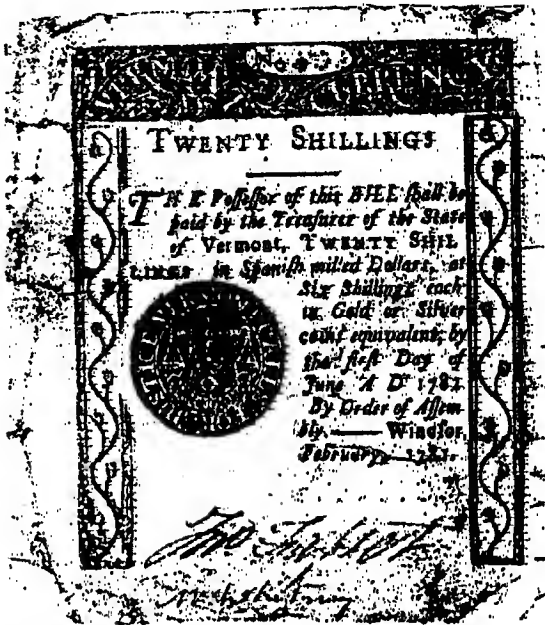
This style of hand composition and printing dictates that only a limited number of type faces would be available to the typesetter, and that only certain fonts of type would be used for a given purpose. It would not be likely that odd characters or "wrong fonts" would be mixed with the regular type that was being used for these notes.

Illustration No. 1

Original Note



Suspect Note



Face



Back

The type that was cast for each font used by Colonial printers was carefully controlled. Each letter of a given font would be exactly like all others because they were cast in the same mold. Slight variations can be seen in printed pieces because of wear or damage to the type, or problems in printing and inking. But odd shaped characters found in an otherwise normal line of type are a good indication that the printing has been altered or enhanced by pen and ink at a later date.

In examining and measuring the suspected printing of this One Pound note, I was looking for any variation in the size or shape of each letter. I did not have to look far to find that some of the letters in the wording "Spooner and Green 1781." did not match the same type font used in other parts of the Vermont notes. Only two explanation could account for this variation. Either the note had been altered after it was printed, or the type had been replaced during the printing process. Replacing damaged type during a press run would not be an uncommon event, but printers of that day would have been extremely careful to match the original wording and type style as closely as possible. The chance of having, or mixing, a type face that was similar but not quite the same would be almost unthinkable.

The stereo microscope revealed that the suspected note had undergone extensive repairs. Examination of the fibers of the paper showed that some were rearranged in an unnatural order to join with other segments of the paper or to fill in what must have been thin spots. Where original paper was not available, a mixture of fibers and glue was spread to fill in and join pieces together. The technique is neither new nor surprising. In fact I found that both of the notes being examined had been repaired in many spots and made to look better than they must have been at one point in their history. Cracks and splits were joined together; small missing pieces were filled and bent corners straightened.

The work on each bill was of high quality, but apparently done by a different hand. The "original" note was not as extensively repaired, and there were no signs of alteration or enhancement of letters or design. The suspected note was revealed to have been refurbished in numerous spots and the letters in the abnormal wording could be seen under high magnification as having been added by pen and ink. The artist who did the alteration was skillful, but the letters were not a perfect match for the original type, and they were not punched into the paper. Rather, they seemed to sit on top of the fibers quite unlike letters printed from type. I was easily convinced that the wording had been altered, and that parts of the face of the note, including the seal, had been "improved". Now I wanted to establish the full extent of the deception.

The ink that had been used on the original printing is of a sort that is no longer in use today, and on currency like this it is further changed by being old and faded. Ink that the artist used to enhance and alter this note was a modern kind that was more intense and likely to contain materials that react differently to various light sources. In many cases examining a suspected note in infrared light will reveal differences in ink and paper, and give a quick and definite answer to questions about repairs and alterations. In this case I did not have access to an infrared light at the moment, so I did the next best thing. I captured the differences on my Canon PC-3 copier.

Most copy machines have a variable intensity setting for lighter or darker copies. Experiment a little with yours to see what can be done and if you can achieve results similar to mine. You may be surprised at what is hiding in your collection. I must caution you, however: **YOU CAN FADE AND DAMAGE PAPER MONEY BY EXPOSING IT TO THE STRONG LIGHT OF A COPY MACHINE.** If you do try this procedure, use it sparingly and only as an extreme measure to confirm your suspicions.

In examining the altered Vermont note, I was also curious about the faded wording and serial

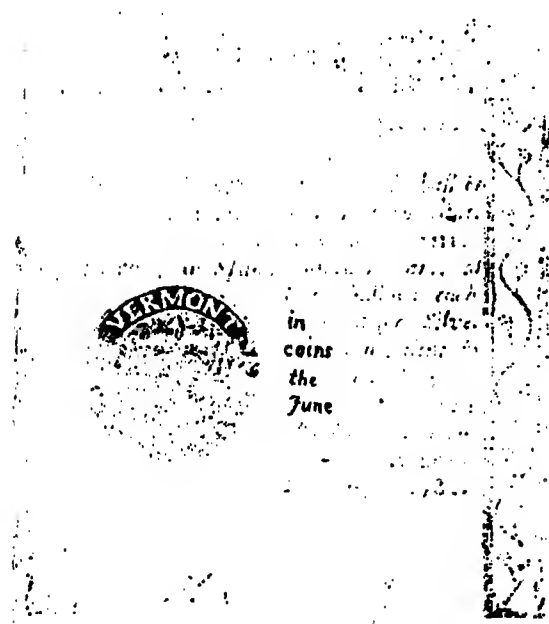
number on the face side. My first copy machine pass was at an intensified setting to see if I could bring out the faded ink, and to highlight areas of repair. The result was quite good and shows that the number was probably 638 and the missing signer E. Walbridge.

The second pass through the copy machine (Illustration No. 2 shown below) was at a light setting intended to washout the faded original printing, and leave only the modern high quality ink of the alteration. The results revealed that the words "Spooner and (G)reen. 1781." and parts of the border were noticeably different. On the face of the note, the top of the seal and the words "in", "coins", "the", "June" and a few odd letters were all of a different ink intensity than the original printing.

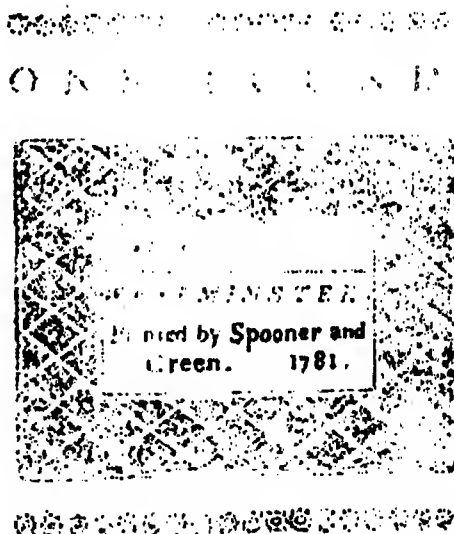
Thanks to modern technology the mystery of the odd Vermont currency design was resolved in time to support the article that Mr. Partridge so carefully prepared. His charts will assist future students in determining if their Vermont notes are original or have been pieced together. Hopefully the techniques described here will also aid others in uncovering deceptive alterations and "improvements" to their currency.

Illustration No. 2

Suspect note showing repaired ink (face) and changed words (back).



Face



Back

A Connecticut Coppers Condition Census? Some Random Thoughts

by

George Perkins; New Bedford, MA

After having collected U.S. coins generally since childhood, in the early 1970's I became interested in U.S. colonials and soon found myself fascinated by Connecticut's and, while still adding other colonials to my collection as found, I began to specialize in the Connecticut's to the neglect, I fear, of New Jersey's, Vermont's and other series.

About then, I started to log all appearances at auction, on fixed price lists, etc. of Connecticut's according to Miller numbers on prepared sheets for a 3-ring notebook. The columns specified (1) date of appearance at auction, on fixed price list, etc., (2) auctioneer or dealer, (3) collection name, (4) Lot No., (5) grade, (6) plated or not, (7) a brief description, (8) estimated price and (9) actual price. One of my sons-in-law, who is a computer professional, has entered these forms into my PC. Sadly, however, I am still entering data in my old forms by hand! Obviously, this is an ideal computer application for you computer literate readers out there.

Later, I realized that some form of Condition Census was going to be necessary if my data was to be useful in judging desirability of an offered new specimen, particularly in the case of the more common varieties. If my log for a variety fills only one page or less, it is simple enough to scan it and be able to judge the approximate position of an offered specimen. However, how would one cope, for example, with 1787 4-L, the famous "horned bust"? Even though I grew so bored with it that, once in a while, I failed to enter a new appearance. My log for 4-L now contains *ten* full pages and lists about 500 appearances!

Therefore, as a Connecticut specimen is offered to me for which one has not already been prepared, I draft a "Tentative Condition Census" ("T.C.C."). As new census candidates appear, I try to update the Census.

I should here express caveat. For various personal reasons, with which I won't bore you, I have fallen behind in updating my log of appearances and, consequently, also, in updating the T.C.C.'s. Therefore, I expect the Connecticut fraternity (also called, Connecticanuts!) to pounce on these for errors and omissions. However, these are presented only as illustrations of my method and as a basis for refinement using input from our readers. I now have compiled T.C.C.'s for about 300 Miller varieties. Many of the missing types are so rare and my appearance log for those varieties is so short that a quick scan will serve as a reasonable condition census. Most of the missing varieties are in this category. However, I hope to add the missing varieties as time and energy permits.

Why a Connecticut Condition Census?

It seems to me to be a *given* that a Condition Census is desirable and useful. Indeed, I do not see how a serious collector (or professional, for that matter) can long succeed without one. Since I believe that most, if not all, of our readers will agree with this premise. I will not belabor this point except with respect to aspects which might not be obvious.

Deflating Seller/Buyer Hype

"This (ugly) "Hercules Head" is one of the *finest* known!" Whip out your T.C.C. and say, "Gosh, that is a super coin, but I guess that I will have to pass, as I have spent more at this show than my full year coin budget".

Assessing Coins in Your Own Collection

Personally, I enjoy placing my coins in the hierarchy of known specimens. In the case of Connecticut, this is especially productive (as compared, say, to Morgan dollars) in view of the relatively small number of known specimens of most varieties. This is also important in estimating the market value of individual coins and of your entire collection.

A Spur to Additional Research

A less obvious value of a Condition Census for Connecticut is that it may reveal a need for more research into the history of the variety. To select only one, what about '87 4-L (not to belabor that honey fellow!) *Why* is it so common? *Why* are there so many high condition examples? *Why* did it continue to be produced in large numbers even as the "horn" die break became more and more serious and, one would suppose, of greater and greater concern to the mint?

Population and Present Abode of Rare Varieties

The T.C.C. for rare varieties will, I suspect, turn up previously undocumented specimens in private collections and the present home of previously documented examples. This will aid in refining the rarity rating for those varieties. Hereafter, I will try to address questions of method which have arisen in my personal experience and concerning which I, and collectors in general, will appreciate input from our readers.

Seen vs. Unseen Coins or Reality vs. Fantasy Grades

It will, I think, at once become apparent that herein lies the most serious problem facing anyone attempting to draft a Condition Census, principally due to incomplete, inaccurate and inflated written grades. This arises from the fact that I have not personally examined most of the listed coins. In my own case, I have used various stratagems to address this dilemma.

In many of my T.C.C.'s I have made two separate schedules, one listing only seen or plated specimens and a second listing only unseen and unplated specimens listed by their assigned grade, expecting to shift a specimen to the Seen/Plated list if and when I see it.

Another occasional stratagem has been to accept the assigned grade, but put the specimen below *all* Seen/Plated specimens of the same assigned grade.

The Grading Enigma

I am assuming that all *CNL* readers are well acquainted with the perennial debate (ugly battles?) about grading and I do not intend to use space here to rehash them. Personally, I do not like "net

grading". In my own collecting I employ a sharpness ("technical"?) grade with a recitation of any problems. I feel that a "net" grade without more data is misleading. Since an auction or other catalogue description seldom reveals the cataloguer's grading methods, placing a coin in a Condition Census based on a written description alone is, obviously, a chancy matter. Moreover, the obvious temptation among many sellers is to over rather than under grade.

A Grading Jury?

The large cent collecting fraternity has debated the desirability of forming a group of knowledgeable collectors to grade specimens for inclusion in a census. This idea has much to recommend it, but there are problems such as selecting the jury, assembling its members to pass on specimens, or circulating census candidates among the members, etc.

My thought, so far, has been to circulate my (or other collectors') draft T.C.C.'s to a relatively small number of (hopefully) willing "Connecticanuts" for review and correction, including additions, subtractions and alteration of ranking, after which it can then be published.

I am attaching to this paper an example T.C.C. for the Miller 45-CC of 1787 and will welcome all suggestions as to form and content. Hereafter, the plan would be to circulate new ones to that group and eventual publication, after all reviews has been completed. Presumably, readers' suggestions for additions, deletions and ranking changes will be incorporated and the Census updated periodically.

As noted above, my appearance schedule is not as up-to-date as I could wish. Consequently, more recent appearances of Condition Census candidates may not be included. I should be glad to hear from any of you with needed additions, deletions or re-ranking.

Depth of Census

Personally, I feel that any census should list only a reasonably limited number of specimens. With many of the rarer Connecticut, the number will obviously be limited by the known population. In this case, probably *all* known specimens should be listed. In the case of the more common varieties, I suggest listing only the top fifteen or twenty, subject to your comment. For example, what do you do with 1787 4-L of which, as I said, my appearance list runs to several hundred? Moreover, my present T.C.C. (as of December, 1993,) shows sixteen specimens of 4-L of which the *lowest* grade is "Taylor 2402", graded EF-40!

As I write this, I am looking at one of John Griffée's excellent Condition Census series on Maris New Jersey varieties, this being for 42-e in *Penny-Wise* for July 15, 1994, at pp 229-230 where there are 41 entries running in grade from VF-30 down to Fair. I suppose that an argument can be made to cut off the census at a pre-determined base grade. What do you think?

Separate Die State Censuses?

In the case of M.1.2-C ("Mutton Head") and 5.3-N ("Hercules Head") I have compiled three separate T.C.C.'s for the early, intermediate and late die states (for 1.2-C) and early and late (for 5.3-N), as each state really has its own identity. Possibly, this might also apply to 4-L. Readers may think of other varieties for similar treatment.

Readers will note that where available, I have given the estimated price, price realized or asked for the particular coin. My rationale for this is that in an apparently close case a large price differential *might* indicate that the grades were not so close after all! The limitations on this are obvious. However, I also believe that these figures are of interest to collectors and will (hopefully) indicate growing collector interest in and valuation of the series.

Conclusion

I hope that the foregoing kindles some interest in a Connecticut Condition Census. I would like to hear from readers pro and con and especially from those who already have records of appearances of candidates for such a census and who would be interested in becoming a member of a group to critique T.C.C.'s prior to publication.

SAMPLE T. C. C.

TENTATIVE CONDITION CENSUS

CONNECTICUT 1787

MILLER 45-CC

R-6 February 28, 1992

- | | | |
|---|------------|-----------|
| (1) Bowers & Merena, Taylor Sale, 3-26-87, L.2670 | o.a.XF-40 | \$825.00 |
| ex Bowers & Ruddy, Garrett III, L.1369 | XF @ | \$1000.00 |
| (2) G.C.P., Spec. No. 5, ex Jeff Kierstead | VF-30 | \$132.00 |
| (3) G.C.P. Spec. No. 4 ex D. A. Mituzas | o.a.F-12 | \$55.00 |
| (4) Bowers & Merena, Norweb II Sale 3-24-88, L.2603 | F-12/VF-20 | \$99.00 |
| (5) Stack's, Oechsner Sale 9/8-9/88 L. 1178 | VG | \$110.00 |
| (6) Pine Tree, 1975 EAC Sale L. 137 | AF | \$145.00 |
| (7) Bowers & Ruddy J.Turoff Sale 10-1-76, L.706(not plated) | VF | \$27.00 |
| (8) Bowers & Ruddy, "RCR", No. 14, P.63 (no plate) | F - VF | \$35.00 |

THE NEW JERSEY STORY

From My Point Of View

by

Herbert A. Silberman; Morristown, NJ

I have been collecting information on New Jersey for some time and finally decided to put a bit of its history together in this outline. Because of my interest in early U.S. copper coins and the New Jersey copper mining that produced the material for some of these coins, I have been a bit selective in just what is included as "the history". I hope I have found enough to make this an interesting story and that you find as much joy reading it as I have had in putting it all down.

Chapter One

How It all began

1617

New Jersey's earliest settlement, about 1617, was in Bergen, it is believe to have been near where Jersey City is now. It was settled by the Dutch and they claimed the entire country, from Cape May to Nova Scotia including Brooklyn and Manhattan, as theirs and called it New Amsterdam but some time prior to 1645 it becomes New Netherland.

1623

In 1623, Colonels Jacobson Mey and Adriaen Jorisz along with a Dutch company, built Fort Nassau on the east shore of the Delaware River. In 1626, Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan and by 1629 there were three hundred people in the Dutch province. Meanwhile in 1634, Sir Edmund Ployden obtained a grant from the King of England for the very same land along the Delaware. In 1638 a party of Swedes and Finns purchased the land in the same area from native Indians and established several settlements. The Dutch and the Swedes then drove out the English and in 1655 the Dutch built a fort, a short distance below Camden, which they named Nassau. Under Peter Stuyvesant the Dutch drive out the Swedes and send them back home; by 1664 the Dutch had barely developed two small villages on the Jersey shore.

1664

In 1664, Charles II of England, ignored all the other claims and granted the territory between the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers to his brother the Duke of York. In the indenture dated June 23, 1664 by the Sovereign Lord Charles the Second the tract of land is hereafter to be called Nova Caesarea or New Jersey. The Duke of York sent an expedition, with Colonel Richard Nicholls as the commander, to take possession. Nicholls transferred that part of New Netherland that lay between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret who then name it New Jersey. When New Netherland fell the entire area submitted to Nicholls, and he becomes the governor. In October, 1664, John Bailey, Daniel Denton and Luke Watson purchased a tract from Raritan to Passaic that ran about thirty miles west. Sometime prior to 1670, settlements were started in New Jersey at Elizabethtown, Newark, Irvington, Middletown, Piscataway and Shrewsbury. These were founded by immigrants from New England and Long Island.

1665

The Duke of York sold his claim, the entire state of New Jersey, to Lord Berkeley, brother of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia. and Sir George Carteret. They named the area New Jersey to honor Sir George who had been the governor of the Isle of Jersey.

In **1665** Philip Carteret having been appointed governor of the province, came to New Jersey with thirty persons. and Elizabethtown became the capital. There were only five families in the province at that time. In **1670** the people revolted and they choose James Carteret (an illegitimate son of Sir George) as governor, but Philip Carteret conns the people and in May of 1678, has the first legislative assembly pass a bill of penalties, listing twelve offenses that are punishable by death.

1673

In March **1673**, Berkely sold what was called West Jersey to Quakers John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, who transferred their claim to William Penn and in July of the same year the Dutch recaptured New York and, now, all the land beyond New Jersey is called Achter Kol. By treaty in **1674**, Great Britain gets every thing back, but there is a question, does it revert to the King or to the proprietors, so a compromise is reached. Carteret's claim is recognized, and the Duke of York receives a grant and gives Carteret only a part of the state. Meanwhile King James II sent Sir Andros to govern New England, New York and New Jersey. The Duke of York had included the State of New Jersey in a grant to Sir Edmund Andros, then the governor of New York, who in turn refused to recognize Carteret and arrests everyone who would not submit to his jurisdiction.

1674

In **1674**, Lord Berkeley, who held half of what is now New Jersey, sold his interest and after two years it belonged to William Penn. The area was then divided, giving West Jersey to the Friends and East Jersey to Carteret. In the meantime Fenwick and Byllinge, the Quakers to whom Berkley had sold his shares, sell their interest to William Penn and two other Quakers, namely Galvin Laorie and Nicholas Lucas, and they establish a Quaker settlement in Salem near the east shore of the Delaware and claim chief proprietorship over all parts of the state from south of a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the Delaware at Latitude 41 N. We now have East Jersey and West Jersey.

1680

In April **1680**, Andros arrests Carteret. When King James II, was overthrown Andros was thrown in jail and then sent back to England. Finally the Duke of York acknowledges the claim and Sir Edmund Andros' rule of New Jersey ends.

1682

In **1682** East Jersey passes into the hands of William Penn and other Quakers. Later in the same year, the whole territory is purchased by William Penn and eleven other Quakers. With all the new owners, and because by now some of them had sold off their interests to other Quakers, there is now utter confusion. In **1702** the proprietors give up and they surrender their rights to the Crown. Queen Anne appoints Lord Cornbury as governor of New York and New Jersey, but this does not work (it didn't work the first time either) so in 1708 they separate the two and Lewis Morris is appointed governor of the separated state of New Jersey. Finally in 1702 Queen Anne united East Jersey and West Jersey into one colony to be called New Jersey. By now the population is about 40,000 and in 1776 they adopt a state constitution. The last royal governor of the state was William Franklin, the natural son of Benjamin Franklin, and it seems that he had held that office since 1764.

Chapter Two

Morristown, NJ

Morristown, the nearest large city to where I live, was so involved in the very beginning of our nation I thought it deserves special attention.

In order to attract new settlers New Jersey knew it needed better roads than the narrow trails that ran across the state. The trails were widened and improved between 1700 and 1720 and by 1745 the New Jersey census showed 61,383 while in 1700 only about 12,000. Between 1710 and 1745 the villages of Orange, Freehold, New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, Newton, Hackensack, Morristown, Dover, Mt. Holly, Bordentown, Westfield, Plainfield and others were settled. In 1714 Hunterdon County with Trenton as the county seat was formed and in 1739 Morris County with Morristown as their county seat was formed. As far as I have been able to trace it, Kings Highway by 1776, ran from Elizabethtown to Florham Park, picked up Columbia Turnpike in Morris County then Morris Street to Spring Street and then west on Sussex to what is now Route 24, thru Mendham and stopped at Burlington and the Delaware River.

Morristown was originally named West Hanover or New Hanover, and was first settled in the Hollow, along Spring and Water Streets, as early as 1685 (1710 is the generally agreed date) by people from Whippanong who were engaged in the iron industry. In New Jersey, like in most of the original colonies there were deposits of bog iron. The first operation to produce pig iron dates back to 1643 in Massachusetts. By the time of the Revolutionary War the American production exceeded that of both England and Wales, and ranked third in the world. In 1740 Morris County was separated from Hunterdon County and West Hanover changed its name to Morris Town and it became the county seat and soon evolved into a very convenient stopover between New York and the rest of New Jersey.

In 1777 there were 250 people living in Morristown and several wealthy families built large mansions with fine accommodations for their guests. There was the Jacob Arnold, Jr.'s, the Ford's Mansion, the Jonathon Ogden's, built in 1774, the Symmes's at "Solitude" on Sussex, the Condict's whose daughter Anna married President William Harrison, and the Dr. Camfield's on King's Highway, now Morris Street, where Betsy Schuyler came to visit her aunt Mrs. Cochran and met and married Alexander Hamilton. Dr. Jabez Camfield's was on Morris Street, close by the Jacob Ford Jr.'s home, built in 1774 which later became Washington's Headquarters. Colonel Jacob Ford Jr. died at age thirty nine.

There were several fine drinking places such as Benjamin Holloway's Inn on Sussex, Puff's Tavern on Hanover Avenue, Jacob Ford's tavern was located near Washington Headquarters in 1752, Jacob Arnold's Tavern, built by his father, Samuel Arnold in 1764, on the green and Dickerson's Tavern at Spring and Water Streets.

A very important gathering was held on December, 23, 1779 at the Dickerson's Tavern, at the time leased by Robert Morris, on the north east corner of Water and Spring Streets in Morristown. The central figure was Benedict Arnold who was born in Norwich, Connecticut in 1740. In 1775 he assisted Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and in December besieged Quebec for three weeks. When the Indians heard of the approach of Arnold they abandoned the siege of Fort Schuyler.

In accordance with an order dated December 22, 1779, the court-martial of Benedict Arnold was issued by the commander-in-chief George Washington, from the Ford mansion. The treason trial was set for May. With Major-General Robert Howe president, Brigadier-General Henry Knox, Brigadier-General William Maxwell and Brigadier-General Mordecai Gist, along with eight colonels convened and Benedict Arnold was summoned to trial at the Dickerson Tavern. The first

date for the trial was to be May of 1779 but the military campaign put it off till December and adjourned until January 26. George Washington, as commander-in chief, reprimands Arnold for his misconduct and the trial is over. This description of the meeting at Dickerson's Tavern remains as a very strange episode of our history.

Chapter Three

New Jersey Paper Money

On November 27, 1716, William Pinhorne proposed the issue of paper bills in the amount of twenty thousand pounds at no interest for the Province of New Jersey to encourage trade. In 1717 the Quaker Assembly of New Jersey issued 4000 pounds in bills of credit (paper currency). In 1723, Governor William Burnet cooperated in establishing a New Jersey loan office and planned to increase the amount of paper money to limit inflation. The loan office issued 40,000 pounds of paper money in small bills up to three pounds. New Jersey needed paper money because the commerce between New York and Philadelphia constantly drained its supplies of money. On July 2, 1750 a Grand Jury convened at Ford's Tavern and there Judge Samuel Nevill tried some counterfeiters. Within two years the value of New Jersey money surpassed that of New York and Pennsylvania. Then in 1764, to control the colony, the English Parliament forbid the issuance of additional paper money.

Samuel Ford, a cousin of Jacob Ford jr. established a "money-making business" with Samuel Hayes, Ayers, David Reynolds, Dr. Bern Budd and Benjamin Cooper, and is accused along with his partners of counterfeiting bills of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. His counterfeiting shop was on a small island in the swamp, (near where the Morristown Airport is today) known as the Hummock. His shop is known to have been visited by many prominent men of the area. Thomas Kinney who became sheriff of Morris County was among other visitors who met in the swamp. Ford is arrested in 1773 along with Benjamin Cooper, Bern Budd, Samuel Haynes, and Ayers and David Reynolds. He gets out, goes to Ireland in 1765 to *really* learn the art of counterfeiting, and while there he marries a girl, who when she learns he has a wife and children in Jersey, leaves him. He returns home, and suddenly a lot of new counterfeit bills are in circulation. Ford lived on Columbia Road, then part of Kings Highway, about a half mile east of Washington Headquarters. Ford escapes from the Morris County jail, with the help of Sheriff Kinney and John King. The East Jersey treasury at Perth Amboy, with Ford the leader, is robbed of 6,570 pounds in bills of credit and coin. Ford then flees south and never returns to Jersey.

In December of 1773, William Franklin pardoned all of the counterfeiters who were operating in Morristown, New Jersey, including Ford, Dr. Budd, Cooper and Haynes for printing bills of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. Reynolds, the only one who had no influential friends, was executed.

Chapter Four

New Jersey's Copper Mines

The following is a list of the early copper mines in the State of New Jersey.

1. Schuyler (Arlington, Belleville or Victoria) mine; Union Township, Bergen County.
2. Dod mine; in the city of East Orange, Essex County, near the Brighton Avenue Station of the Erie (Greenwood Lake) Railroad.
3. Glen Ridge mine; along Bloomfield Ave. Glen Ridge, Essex County.
4. Wigwam Brook mine; at the foot of Mount Vernon Avenue, Orange, Essex County.

5. American or Bridgewater mine; three miles north of Somerville, Bridgewater Township, Somerset County.
6. Chimney Rock mines; near Chimney Rock, one mile northwest of Bound Brook, Somerse County.
7. Stony Brook mines; one mile northwest of Plainfield, Middlesex County.
8. Hoffman mine; three-quarters of a mile southeast of Pluckemin, Somerset County.
9. Bolmer prospect; near Martinsville, Somerset County.
10. Feltville mine; near Feltville ("Deserted Village"), Union County.
11. Totowa mine; near Marion and Union Avenues, Totowa, Passaic County.
12. Menlo Park mine; at Menlo Park(Edison), Raritan Township, Middlesex County.
13. New Brunswick (French) mine; in New Brunswick, Middlesex County.
14. Raritan mines; at Flemington, Raritan Township, Hunterdon County.
15. Flemington mines; at Flemington, Rariton Township, Hunterton County.
16. Neshanic mine; near Flemington, but in Delaware Township, Hunterdon County.
17. Griggstown or Franklin mine; in Franklin Township, Somerset County, one mile south of Griggstown.
18. Pahaquarry mine; along Delaware River in Pahaquarry Township, Warren County.
19. Banghart prospect; near Glen Gardner, Lebanon Township, Hunterdon County.
20. Davis prospect; on Jenny Jump Mountain, Independence Township, Warren County.
21. Aaron Howell prospect; at northeast end of Jenny Jump Mountain, Independence Town ship, Warren County.

Some specifcls on the history of some of the NJ copper mines.

The Schuyler Mine

(Also known as the Arlington, Belleville, or Victoria mine)

1712

The following is perhaps a romantic legend. In 1712-1713 an old slave had found a greenish stone and took it to his master who had it sent to England and found it to be rich in copper. In 1715, the find became the Schuyler's Copper Mine. Arent Schuyler had been interested in mining as early as 1693, so when he bought the Kingsland tract in 1710 he was looking to mine it for copper. General Robert Hunter, Governor of New York and New Jersey, reported to the Lords of Trade in England on November 15, 1715, that a New Jersey copper mine was supplying about a ton a month. The ore yielded from four to seven ounces of silver and a small portion of gold to every hundred pounds of copper.

1719

At Hanover, in 1719, Arent J. Schuyler (born 1662, son of a wealthy Albany family), had found a vein of copper ore between the Passaic and Hackensack rivers in New Jersey [1]. Arent Schuyler was employed by the Province of New York as an interpreter and agent among the Indians, had inspected the area in 1694 and reported to Benjamin Fletcher, at Albany. then the Governor of the Province, The ore proved to be very rich and profitable and was carried to the Hudson and shipped in barrels to Bristol, in England, (or to Holland?) where it was sold for 40 pounds per ton. The 1731 output was 1386 tons of ore. The yield, approximately 100 tons of copper per year.

Benjamin Franklin, who was living at his farm in Burlington, New Jersey, at the time, wrote in 1750 that this was the most valuable mine in America.

[1] Locator symbol; see map on page 1587

There is additional evidence in a family tradition handed down among the descendants of Aarent Schuyler, that the ore obtained contained enough silver to pay the cost of smelting. In 1721, Frank Harrison wrote to The Lords of Trade of England that the Schuyler mine shipped 110 casks of ore to Holland and there was no way to prevent the shipment. At least a part of the silver was always returned to this country in the shape of coin. This mine, about 1803, became known as the Soho Company. The best source of copper was nature's cache where the surface outcroppings of the free working ores "native" copper were found. These deposits were rare, but in New Jersey at Schuyler's mine, the American, and the Griggstown mine, early explorers found sizeable amounts. The discovery on Arent Schuyler's estate at North Arlington quickly stimulated search for copper in other parts of the red beds of the Watchung Mountains. Colonel John Schuyler worked the Schuyler mine during the 1730's and 1740's.

In 1761 the Schuylers leased their mine to Josiah Hornblower. In 1780, Elizabeth Schuyler who was staying with her uncle next door to Jacob Ford Jr.'s home in Morristown, met and married Alexander Hamilton. In 1793 the New Jersey Mining Association leased the mine from Phillip Schuyler, son of Arent Schuyler. They worked the mine and built smelting works and a stamping mill and named the operation Soho after the Bolton and Watt factory in Birmingham, England. The company was incorporated in 1811 by John A. Schuyler, Arent Schuyler, and Elisha Boudinot (younger brother of Elias). The tract of land had been owned by Nicholas J. Roosevelt prior to 1811. In 1824 the Soho plant was sold to Harmon Hendricks and Solomon Isaacs.

Uriah Hendricks, who came to America in 1755, founded a metal business that existed from 1754 to 1939. In 1813 Uriah's son Harmon Hendricks reclaimed the deserted Soho Copper Works in Belleville, New Jersey [1], on the site of one of the oldest American mills, and close to the Schuyler copper mine. The Hendricks organized the Hendricks Copper Rolling Mill at the site of the Soho plant and prospered until 1928. The Schuyler mine was located four miles northeast of Broad and Market streets Newark, and within North Arlington. The Hendricks had worked for and with Paul Revere and supplied copper for three generations to sheath the bottoms of many ships including those of the United States Navy. In 1794 Jacob Marks from New Jersey, urged the first Mint of the United States to buy the refined copper sheathing from Hendricks and finally in 1798, the United States bought 485 sheets of copper weighing 5,680 pounds.

The New Brunswick Mine

1750

In 1750 Elisha Boudinot, younger brother of Elias Boudinot who became the director of the mint in 1795 and resigned in 1805, leased some land on the French farm, near New Brunswick, New Jersey [6], on which several masses of copper were turned by a plough, and they weighed from five to thirty pounds. A pit was dug and at 15 feet they found copper. The mineral rights were leased from Phillip French in 1748. A stamp-mill was erected and much copper ore was sent to England. One mass of 128 pounds was owned by James VanDanDyke of New Brunswick in 1837. Three miles southwest of New Brunswick was the Raritan mine. None of these mines were profitable.

The Dod MINE

In 1720, copper was found on the property of John Dod [2], which was then located in West Newark, now part of East Orange and a mine was operated there perhaps until 1760.

The Glen Ridge Mines

There were three small copper mines in parts of colonial West Newark, now East Orange, Orange and Glen Ridge. In about 1801 there was a working mine called the Glen Ridge Mine [3], located northeast of the Dod mine and near where the corner of Bloomfield and Hillside Avenues are now. There is evidence that the mine was in operation as early as 1746. Two mines were located about three miles upstream from the Passaic along Second River and its tributary, Wigwam Brook. These were approximately 5 miles west of the Schyuler mine. The third mine was located along Bloomfield Avenue and Toney's Brook in Glen Ridge. At the foot of where Mount Vernon Avenue is and along the Wigwam Brook, a mine was worked and called the Wigwam Brook Mine.

The Griggstown Mine

The Griggstown Mine also known as the Franklin Mine, located 8 miles north of Princeton and existed prior to 1753. There were 160 Welsh miners working there in 1765 and continued in operation until just before the revolution. Considerable ore was shipped to England during its early operation..

The Hoffman Prospect

At Somerville [9] some native copper was found on Van Horne's mountain. Two Germans built a furnace and collected two masses of virgin copper weighing 1900 pounds.

The Pahaquarry Mine

In about 1650 on the west side of the Kittatinny Mountains, several Dutchmen found copper. The entrance to the old copper mine remains on the Boy Scout camp at Pahaquarry [12] just north of the Delaware Water Gap. Near the mine runs a macadamized road, a modernization of the 100 mile "Old Mine Road" built in the 1650s. This mine was never profitable.

The one hundred mile road was reported as built and completed as an improved highway, and was the first in America. The road past the mine was used in 1776 by General Gates to reinforce Washington's army just three days before the famous crossing of the Delaware. It became known as the Esopus to Delaware railway.

The Bridgewater Mine

Along the Watchung ridges of Somerset County, was the American or Bridgewater mine. At the base of the mountain, laying two miles north and east of Somerville, is the Bridgewater copper mine [8] now closed, but once worked with considerable spirit, but unprofitable. The American pits (Bridgewater Mine) was regarded as an extremely promising prospect long before the Revolution. There were mines near Chimney Rock, others along Stony Brook, Great Notch, and the Hoffman mine. The Stony Brook mine cuts through First Mountain, the Hoffman mine is on the west flank of First Watchung Mountain, the Feltville mine was at the foot of Second Mountain, the Menlo Park mine, discovered in 1784, was in Edison, in Raritan Township.

1758

Solitude

Judge John Cleves Symmes (1742-1814) moved to Morristown around 1777 and named his estate Solitude. In 1802 Symmes conveyed Solitude to Colonel Henry who sold it in 1811 to Moses Holloway. Symmes daughter Anna, married William H. Harrison, who later became President of the United States. In 1797 Solitude was called Wheatsheaf Inn by Captain Benjamin Holloway who operated an inn there for several years. There is evidence that Walter Mould, during his stay, mined both copper and silver at Solitude, and Judge Symmes had mined silver there for a time during his residence at Solitude.

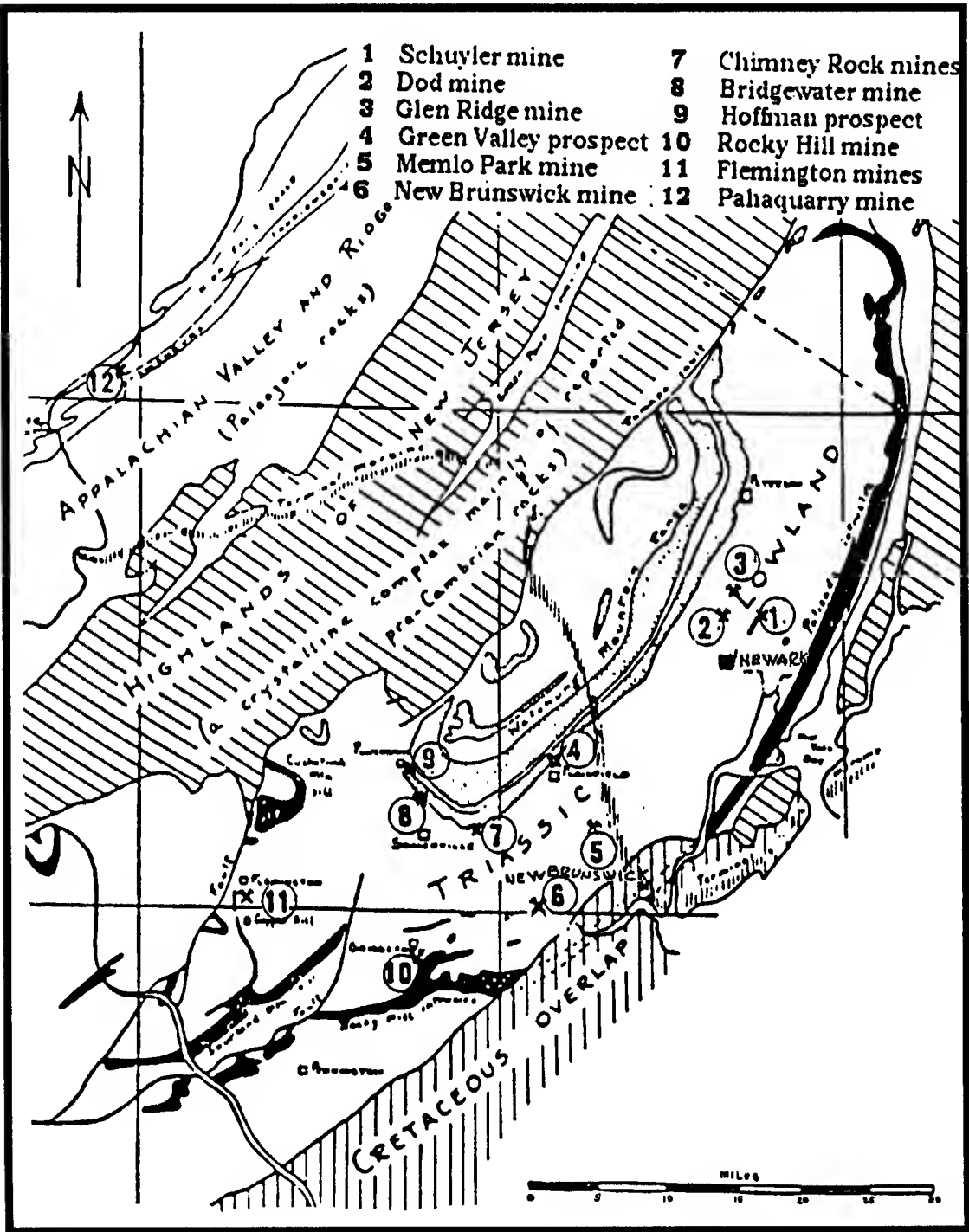
Walter Mould, assisted by Silas Condict, a member of the State Legislature obtained authorization, along with Thomas Goadsby and Albion Cox to coin copper cents. In 1786, 1787 and 1788, Walter Mould struck the New Jersey horse head cents at Solitude.

An old ledger book found in a vault at Essex County Hall of Records has provided information about mining in New Jersey. The day-book contains a record of the operations of the Ringwood Mining Co. from 1758 to 1766. This record also provides information on the Ogden family which owned the mine from 1740 until 1765 and confirms the fact that they operated a blast furnace. Jonathon Ogden built a home in Morristown in 1774. One ledger entree of February 14, 1765, shows 900 pieces of 9 pound shot and they possibly supplied the British during the seven years of war with France.

Note: Numbers shown boldly and in [brackets] refer to the map that is presented on page 1587.

The writer acknowledges and expresses gratitude to all the authors listed and their devotion to New Jersey's history. I have listed some of the sources that I remember having used. I am indebted for the copies of documents from the National Park's library that have been included to complete my story on New Jersey.

Eggleston - The New History of the United States 1904
 Rickard - A history of American Mining 1932
 Caroline Newton - Once upon a Time in Connecticut 1916
 The Engineering and Mining Journal 1882
 Historic Morristown, New Jersey
 Maxwell Whiteman - Copper In America
 John Howe 1844.- Historical Collections of New Jersey
 Jacob Patton's Concise History of the American People, 1876
 Richard McCormick- Colony to State 1609-1789
 Sherman - Historic Morristown - 1905
 Theodore Thayer - Colonial Morristown
 History of Morris County 1739 -1882
 The Preston Letters
 Herbert Woodward - Copper Mines and Mining in N. J.
 Cam Cavanaugh - In Lights and Shadows
 Jerrold Marcus - A mining Enviromental Handbook



Early New Jersey Copper Mines in the Triassic Lowlands
Near Newark and New Brunswick

from the INTERNET

the CNL e-mail address is
75021.172@compuserve.com

Two issues of CNL ONLINE, the Internet subset of *CNL*, have been published since our last issue of *CNL*. It was transmitted only to our Patrons who have sent us their e-mail addresses and to Friends who have specifically requested that they be placed on our distribution list. The first issue was distributed to Patrons and published on the Internet on 18 May 1995 and the second on 3 July 1995. It is also distributed worldwide to subscribers of the COINS@cobra.uni.edu MailList. Copies are archived on CompuServe in The Collectibles Forum, Library 4, under the file names CNL001.TXT and CNL002.TXT.



• Reminiscences •

and

"Congratulations on your 100th issue!"

Q. David Bowers

First of all, I congratulate *The Colonial Newsletter* on its 100th issue. I remember when it first appeared, and ever since then I have been an avid reader. Here's wishing the *CNL* many more years of continued success.

Colonial coins and all the term encompasses—including coins of the states, George Washington, and imported pieces in addition to true colonial issues—have long been an interest of mine.

My first brush with colonials was in the early 1950s when I became attracted to two series, Connecticut copper coins 1785-1788, and, later, Massachusetts copper 1787-1788. Back then, the only readily available reference was *The State Coinage of New England*, published in 1919, the work of Hillyer C. Ryder and Henry C. Miller. Actually, the term "readily available" wasn't particularly

applicable, for even then an original copy was apt to cost \$50 or \$100. Reprints had not yet been made.

Then, of course, there was that old chestnut, Sylvester S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America* which [read] just as well in 1955 as readers must have found it when it was first issued in 1875. Today in 1995 its appeal has not changed a bit. There are probably few fields of collecting or historical endeavor in which a reference 120 years old is still useful to serious students as well as to amateurs today.

Perhaps colonial collecting has "come of age" in the 1990s, but I don't like to think of it that way. Today what one reads about colonials in places other than *The Colonial Newsletter* is apt to be laced with politics, personal opinions (sometimes expressed from a relatively weak footing), colonial coins encapsulated in plastic, and, who knows in the future, perhaps even bid and ask prices for Connecticut varieties by Miller numbers! In truth, the "good old days" were in this instance often better than today. The atmosphere was one of camaraderie. It is not that this is absent today, but there are some controversies we can certainly do without.

To me, coins are meant to be *enjoyed*. I felt that way when I first collected coins in 1952, I feel that way in 1995, and hopefully I will always continue this sentiment.

Back in the mid 1950s, relatively few collectors were specialists in copper state coinages of 1785-1788. To be sure, Eric P. Newman, Kenneth E. Bressett, and Mrs. Emery May Holden Norweb were past masters in the field, and in New York City John Jay Ford, Jr., and the New Netherlands Coin Company shone like a beacon, and Walter Breen contributed his efforts, but Thomas Shirley, the roster or inner circle numbered no more than a few dozen enthusiasts. Those who were in it were always willing to share information and to help each other.

More often than not, dealers did not attribute their coinage to die varieties. When I sought to add Connecticut coppers to my personal

collection, the reaction of most dealers was, in effect, "be my guest—here is what I have—pick out what you want." These were "dead stock" so far as most sellers were concerned. And, at current market prices of just a few dollars each—actually \$20 would have been a very high price even for a well preserved coin—it is no wonder that few trades people had the inclinations to take out a magnifying glass and pore over the intricacies of a 1787 Connecticut copper attributed to Miller's obverse 33 and reverse Z.

The more I read Crosby's *magnum opus*, the more I became intrigued with Machin's Mills, that private coinage enterprise which held forth on the shore of Orange Pond in the late 1780s. As a student at the Pennsylvania State University I went to the Pattee Library there and sought out whatever I could on the history of New York state and, specifically the Orange Pond area and nearby Newburgh, as well as Machin who had served as a captain in the Revolutionary War. I recall seeing *The Documentary History of New York*, and as it was in four volumes, desired to take it out for a two-week period. I was told that it was an "overnight" reference. I remonstrated to the librarian that it had been last taken out in 1879, so there could not have been much urgent call for it! Eventually I bought my own set for \$50 which I still have today.

As the years went by I thought more and more about Machin's Mills, and whenever mention of this peculiar establishment appeared in print, I read it avidly, as with Eric P. Newman's dissertation in the 1958 *Centennial Publication* of the American Numismatic Society, and as in recent commentaries by Gary Trugden, William T. Anton, Jr., and others. I am embarrassed to say I have never visited the site of Machin's Mills, although I have a nice set of photographs sent to me by Bill Anton. Perhaps seeing it in person would destroy the romantic image I have of it in my mind!

Any review of colonial American coin studies during the life span of *The Colonial Newsletter* must of necessity pay homage to the great efforts of Walter Breen, who, sadly, is no longer with us. With great zest, energy, and unsurpassed mental acuity, Walter charged

forth into various areas of research including colonials, and laid many foundations which prompted changes in standard thinking and, at the very least, inspired quite a few others to go beyond what he had done. Similarly, in the field of Washington pieces, also considered by some as "colonials," the efforts of Dr. George J. Fuld will last as long as such pieces are collected.

Mention of George Fuld prompts me to recall my first meeting with him which was probably about 1954 or 1955 when he lived in Massachusetts. I bought from him a vast collection of Civil War tokens paying something like \$1 each—and most were Uncirculated! Later, when George was in Baltimore—which was actually his hometown—he invited me to address the Baltimore coin club. I flew what most have been one of the shortest commercial flights available from Philadelphia where I was staying to Baltimore. Unfortunately, Delta Airlines lost my bag, and I arrived at George's home wearing blue jeans and a casual shirt—hardly the sort of outfit back then one would have worn at a coin club meeting. (Today things have changed vastly, and in some circles a tee shirt and blue jeans are the order of the day.) George and I scrambled to find substitute clothing so I could make a presentable appearance.

I should also mention Edward (Ned) Barnsley, whose main interest was Connecticut coppers, although he enjoyed Vermont pieces as well. Ned was a fine friend and avid correspondent for many years. He particularly enjoyed making lists of all appearances of specimens of a given variety. This was in the day before "population reports" and such things had been heard of, and when computers were just a novelty.

Ted Craige, while not a prolific writer or researcher, was a very fine gentleman and truly *enjoyed* his coins. As a dealer, I can sell to anyone and have done so, but when someone truly enjoys and appreciates what he or she receives, it makes the sale doubly rewarding. Ted was one of those clients.

Ted was always willing to "talk coins" and share his knowledge and ideas. A modest man, he never sought publicity of any kind.

Bob Vlack, who bought his first colonial coins from me (Connecticut coppers), went on to make many important contributions to our hobby.

When Richard Picker entered the business full time—this must have been toward the end of the 1950s—he specialized in colonial coins, although he had numerous half cents, large cents, and other large pieces as well. Dick was very meticulous and carefully attributed and researched his offerings. Dick loved to keep detailed records, and I have often wondered what he would think of notebook computers were he alive today.

Any written mention of Dick Picker should note that he did not like to grade coins. In fact, you could not pay him to put a grade such as VF, AF or AU on a piece. Instead, he put a price on it and, to paraphrase the legend on Higley coppers, “you could value it as you please.” Dick did not put out catalogues or price lists, thus he is not particularly well known to a newer generation of collectors of numismatic literature. He did, however, help other companies with their descriptions and attributions, including Stack’s and my own firm.

Perhaps no better tribute to Jim Spilman and *The Colonial Newsletter* could be made than to say that anyone seriously researching *any* aspect of colonials, state, Washington, or related coinage would have to consult back issues of this periodical in order to be sure that his research was as complete as possible. More than any other form, *The Colonial Newsletter* has served as a sounding board for theories, a platform for research, and a showcase for the announcement of new finds and varieties. At the same time the editor—bless his heart—has kept free of political and other divisive situations and has conducted the journal on a first class manner from the very earliest days to the present.

It has been a pleasure to be a constant reader of *The Colonial Newsletter* and a contributor to its various projects. May it continue to prosper.

• *Letters* • *Letters* • *Letters* •

**From David Gladfelter;
Moorestown, NJ**

Congratulations. CNL, is more than just a forum, it's the journal of record on the numismatics of colonial America. Your detailed cumulative indexes make everything quickly accessible. All I ask is, having reached No. 100, don't stop now.

**From Herbert Silberman;
Morristown, NJ**

You deserve more than a simple congratulation for your devotion over the last thirty years. You created a forum for all colonial buffs to meet and bring their endless numismatic research into focus. I wish you well and at least one hundred more issues.

**From Donn Pearlman;
Skokie, IL**

Although I personally have not significantly contributed to any U.S. Colonial coinage research in two decades, I sincerely appreciate the efforts of those who actively support *The Colonial Newsletter Foundation, Inc.*

While others may chase elusive dreams in the illusionary world of Slab Heaven, a dedicated and diverse group of collectors prefers the pleasures of actually touching truly meaningful coins and striving to understand the reasons behind those historical souvenirs. *CNL* has filled in many of the gaps and raised other questions. It also has brought many hours of interesting, sometimes provocative reading.

Congratulations to you and the contributors, and best wishes for the next 100 issues.

□ □ □

Another 100 issues??? Ugh! JCS

□ □ □

**From Carl D. Grace;
Woodville, PA**

Before I retired (some 15 years ago now), I had taken the editorship of several organizational newsletters, and I know well the problems you can have. I'm sorry I'm not a better well-spring of ideas. I'm afraid I struck out years ago when "ye Editor", Jim, sent me a great friendly letter in response, I guess, to something from me -- and he begged for some worthwhile ideas for in-depth articles! As I recall, I'm afraid I let him down, too.

But congratulations to your "staff of editors" for their joint efforts. It's good to see contributions, too, with the initials "JCS" appended. My very best to you all.

**From Barry D. Tayman;
Columbia, MD**

Congratulations on the upcoming CNL-100. A truly remarkable and landmark accomplishment. It is clearly one of the most significant American numismatic publications ever printed and belongs in the library of every serious colonial numismatist. Bravo on a job well done. I regret that presently I have nothing worthy of publishing or noteworthy for the occasion. Best wishes for the future.

**From Al Hoch;
Lincoln, MA**

Time goes by so fast. It seems like you took over the reins of *The Colonial Newsletter* (CNL) only a few years ago. It's probably closer to thirty. I'm not competent numismatically anymore and it could be argued that I never was. It has been enormous fun, however. You've done a fine job, Jim, in expanding and publishing CNL for over three decades, a tribute both to your scholarship and your tenacity. It has obviously been in the right hands and will hopefully remain there, for another three decades.

Ye Editor's note: It was good talking with Al

by telephone several days ago. Unfortunately Al has had serious health problems in recent years having contracted Parkinsons disease some four years ago. He is still working but has difficulty using his hands and that turns such "simple" jobs as opening the mail into a serious challenge. While he is no longer a collector of coins he continues with his long established hobby of collecting watch papers. These are the paper disks radially slit in such a manner that they fit tightly into the curved back case lid of antique pocket watches. They were used for record keeping by watchmakers of the repairs and related maintenance activities on a pocket watch. Each entry usually included the name of the watchmaker or his initials, the date, and notes regarding the repairs or cleaning which he accomplished. For our newcomers, Al Hoch is the Founder of *The Colonial Newsletter* and served as Editor and Manager from October 1960 until June 1962 during which time he published the first seven issues of CNL. **JCS**

□ □ □

**From Eric P. Newman;
St. Louis, MO**

As a possible amusement in your 100th number I enclose a photocopy of a cancelled check dated January 31, 1961 payable to A. D. Hoch for \$25 to encourage continuation of the publication of *The Colonial Newsletter*. I found this check while looking for something else.

Sincerely
ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC
EDUCATION SOCIETY

**From Anthony Terranova;
New York, NY**

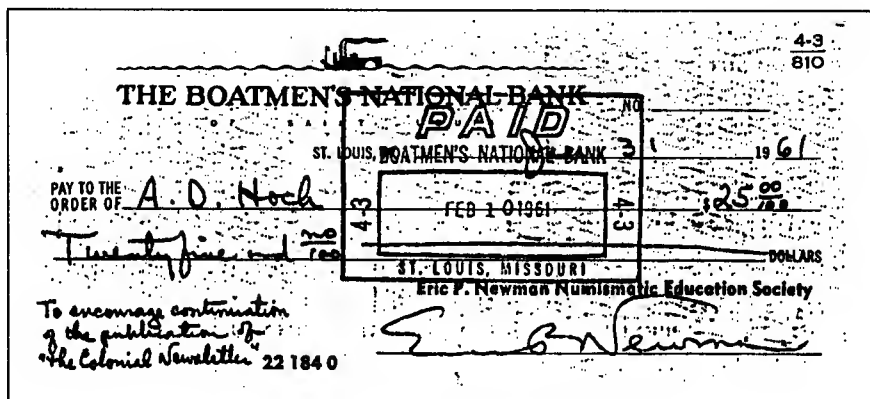
A new promissary note signed by Abel Buell.

□ □ □

The cancelled check and the promissary note are both illustrated on page 1592. **JCS**

□ □ □

Images are 70% of originals.



Check for \$25.00 from Eric P. Newman to A.D.Hoch
 "To encourage continuation of the publication of The Colonial Newsletter"
 January 31, 1961

On Demand I promise to pay to Henry
Lawson Arthur Middleton & Thomas Heyward
Esqrs Two Hundred Continental Dollars for
Value rec^d. Lha. Town to Carolina August 26.
1777.

Ethel Ricketts

On demand I promise to pay to Harry
Lawson Arthur Middlton & Thomas Heyward
Esq. Two Hundred Continental Dollars for
Value Rec. Charlestown So Carolina August 26
1777 Abel Buell

- ? -